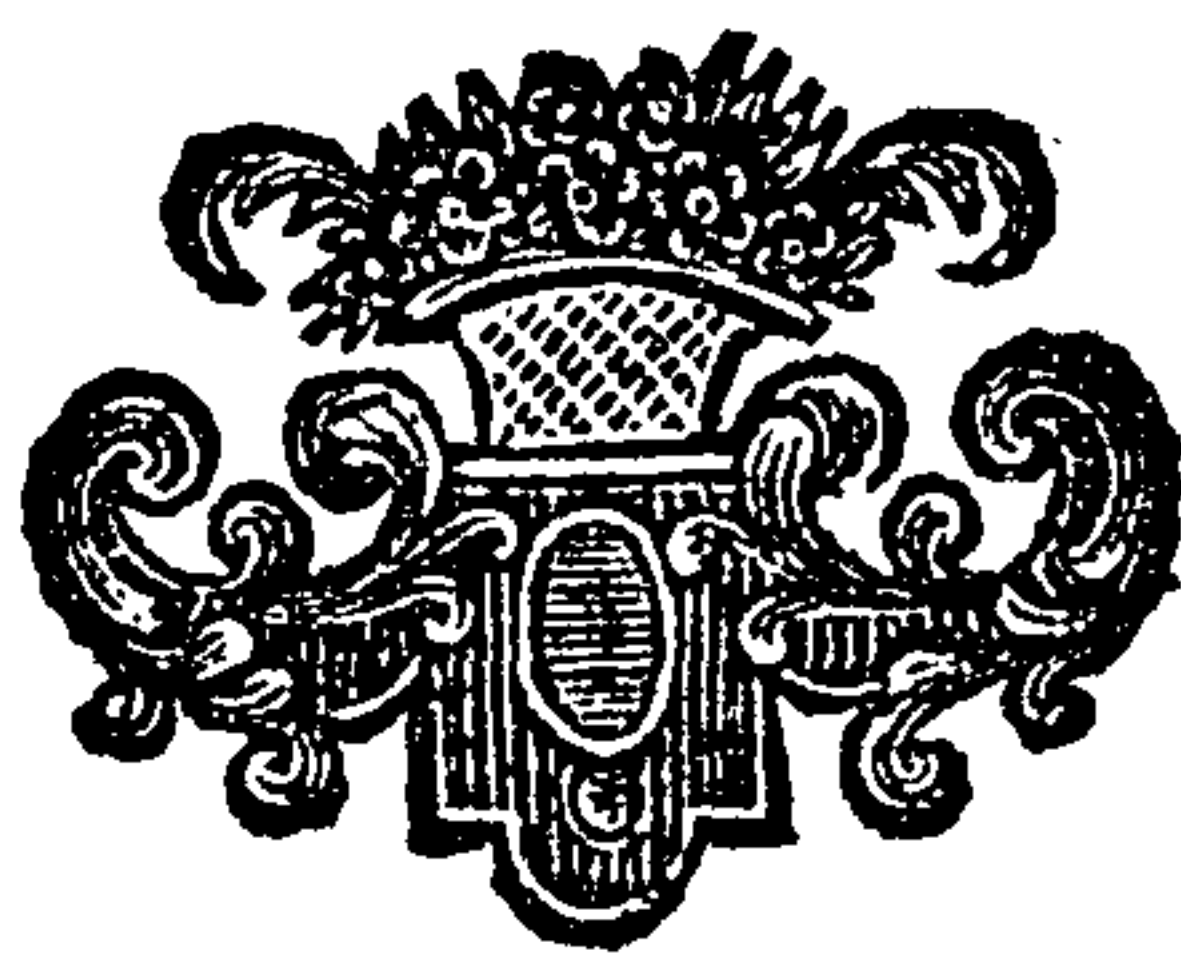


THE
ROMAN HISTORY
BY
TITUS LIVIUS;
WITH THE
SUPPLEMENT
OF
JOHN FREINSHEIM;

Translated into ENGLISH, and illustrated with
geographical and chronological Notes; adorn'd
with Maps, Cuts and Medals.

VOL. VI.



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|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. Falcule | 25. Morgo |
| 3. S ^t . G. de Arbora | 26. Nixia |
| 4. Sidera | 27. Tino |
| 5. Species | 28. Cera |
| 6. Bella Pola | 29. Lea |
| 7. Termina | 30. Maconizys |
| 8. Cherfo | 31. Andre |
| 9. Argentera | 32. S ^t . G. d' Sciro |
| 10. Falconera | 33. Squardoli |
| 11. Caravi | 34. Limini |
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THE ROMAN HISTORY

BY
TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

DECAD IV. BOOK XXXVII.

The province of Greece and Asia assigned to L. Corn. Scipio with Africanus as his lieutenant general, who promises to serve in that quality under his brother, when it was thought that province would have been given to C. Lælius who had great interest in the senate. By this means Lucius is the first Roman general who marches into Asia to make war against Antiochus. Æmil. Regillus with the assistance of the Rhodians defeats that king's fleet at Myonnesus. The son of Africanus taken prisoner by Antiochus, and sent back to his father. M. Acilius Glabrio triumphs for the Ætolians and Antiochus whom he had driven out of Greece. L. Corn. Scipio, with the assistance of Eumenes king of Pergamus and son of Attalus, conquers Antiochus, and grants him peace, on condition that he cede all the provinces on this side Mount Taurus. The dominions of Eumenes enlarged for his service against Antiochus, and several cities yielded to the Rhodians on the same account. A colony settled at Bononia. Æmil. Regillus obtains a naval triumph for having defeated Antiochus's admiral in a sea fight. L. Scipio, who terminates the war with Antiochus, is surnamed Asiaticus, as his brother had been Africanus on a like occasion.

LUCIUS SCIPIO and C. Lælius, having entered upon their office, the fathers first subject of deliberation, after having dispatched religious matters, was the affair of the Ætolians. Their ambassadors pressed for an audience, because the truce granted them was short. T. Quinctius, who was then returned from Greece, supported them in their petition. As they rely'd more on the clemency of

CHAP.

L.

L. Cornel. Scipio, and C. Lælius, consuls.

Y. of R. 562.

B. J. C. 190.

CHAP. ^{1.} the fathers than on the goodness of their cause, they humbly requested, that their past services might be put in balance against their recent injuries. But while they were in the house, the senators on all sides, desiring rather to extort a confession of their infidelity, than to hear their apologies, teized them with close questions. But being ordered to withdraw, warm debates arose among the senators concerning them. As the Romans did not consider them as common enemies only, but as an untractable and perfidious people, resentment got the better of their clemency. After the matter had been debated for several days, it was resolved that, without granting or refusing them peace, two things should be left to their choice, either to submit implicitly to the will of the senate, or pay the republick 1000 talents, and ingage to have no other allies or enemies but those of Rome. They earnestly solicited to be informed, upon what articles they should submit to the senate; but that venerable body gave them no positive answer. So they were dismissed without obtaining peace, and ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. Then they took under consideration the allotment of the provinces to the consuls. They both desired Greece. Lælius had great interest in the senate. For this reason, when the senate ordered them to draw lots for the provinces, he artfully said, it would be more decent to leave the matter to the determination of the fathers, than to the caprice of fortune. Scipio reply'd, he would take time to consider of it, and having consulted only his brother, who advised him boldly to refer the matter to the senate, then declared to his colleague, that he accepted his proposal. The affair was new and without example in the memory of any then present, and therefore the senators expected a warm contest about it, when P. Scipio Africanus rose up and said, 'I will serve in quality of my brother's lieutenant, if you will assign him the province of Greece.' This declaration determined the fathers unanimously, and put an end to the contest.

test. They were rejoiced with the thoughts of trying, whether the vanquished Hannibal would be of more service to Antiochus, than the victorious Africanus to the Roman consul and legions. For this reason Greece was assigned to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius, almost without a contradictory vote.

THEN the prætors drew lots for their provinces. CHAP. II.
 L. Arunculeius got the jurisdiction of the city, and Cn. Fulvius that over foreigners; L. Æmilius, the fleet; P. Jun. Brutus, the Hetrurians; M. Tuccius, Apulia and the Bruttians, and C. Atinius, Sicily. The consul, who had Greece for his province, was to receive the two legions commanded by M. Acilius, besides a reinforcement of 3000 Roman foot and 100 horse, 5000 Latin foot and 200 horse. He was moreover left at liberty to pass into Asia, if he should judge it for the interest of the republic when he arrived in his province. The other consul had all the new levied troops, two Roman legions, and 15000 Latin foot and 600 horse. Q. Minucius, who wrote to the senate, that he had completely executed his commission, and entirely subjected the whole nation of Liguria, was ordered to lead the army he had in that country against the Boii, and deliver the command of it to P. Cornelius the pro-consul. The two city legions, that had been raised the preceding year, were removed from that district, which he took from the Boii when he conquered them, and, with 15000 Latin foot and 600 horse, were delivered to the prætor M. Tuccius to act in Apulia and Bruttium. A. Cornelius, the prætor that had acted in Bruttium the year before, was ordered to deliver the legions under his command to M. Acilius to be transported into Ætolia, if he desired to continue there, and it should be agreeable to the consul. If Acilius should chuse to return to Rome, then A. Cornelius should remain in Ætolia with that army. The province of Sicily and the army of M. Æmilius was decreed to C. Atinius Labeo. Besides, if he pleased he was to raise in his province 2000 foot and 100 horse. Junius Brutus

CHAP. II. was ordered to levy a new army consisting of one Roman legion, 10000 Latin foot and 400 horse, for Hetruria. L. Æmilius, who was to act by sea, was ordered to receive from M. Junius, prætor of the former year, 20 men of war with their crews, besides which he was to levy 1000 seamen and 2000 marines. With this squadron he was to sail to Asia, and there receive the fleet from C. Livius. The same prætors and armies were continued another year in the two Spains and Sardinia. This year Sardinia and Sicily were taxed in two tenths of all their corn. That from Sicily was transported to subsist the army in Ætolia, and part of that from Sardinia to the same place and part to Rome.

CHAP. III. BEFORE the consuls set out for their provinces, they expiated the prodigies by the direction of the pontifs. At Rome the roof and gates of the temple of Juno Lucina were struck with lightning. At Puteoli it damaged the gates and walls in several places and killed two men. At Nursia it is certain that a great storm arose on a calm serene day, and killed two men. The Tusculans reported, that with them it rained earth; and at Reate a mule brought forth a foal. All these were expiated, and the *feriæ Latinæ* celebrated a second time, because the Laurentines had not their share of the flesh of the victims, which was their due. A supplication was also appointed for the expiation of these prodigies, which had filled the people with superstitious fears, and the decemvirs named the Gods to whom their books prescribed that it should be made. Ten young boys and as many girls honorably descended, and whose fathers and mothers were alive, were admitted to partake of the sacrifices. The decemvirs sacrificed sucklings in the night. Before Africanus set out he built a portico in the capitol facing the way leading up to it, and adorned it with seven gilt statues, two carved horses, and placed two marble cisterns before it. About the same time forty three noble Ætolians, among whom were Damocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome

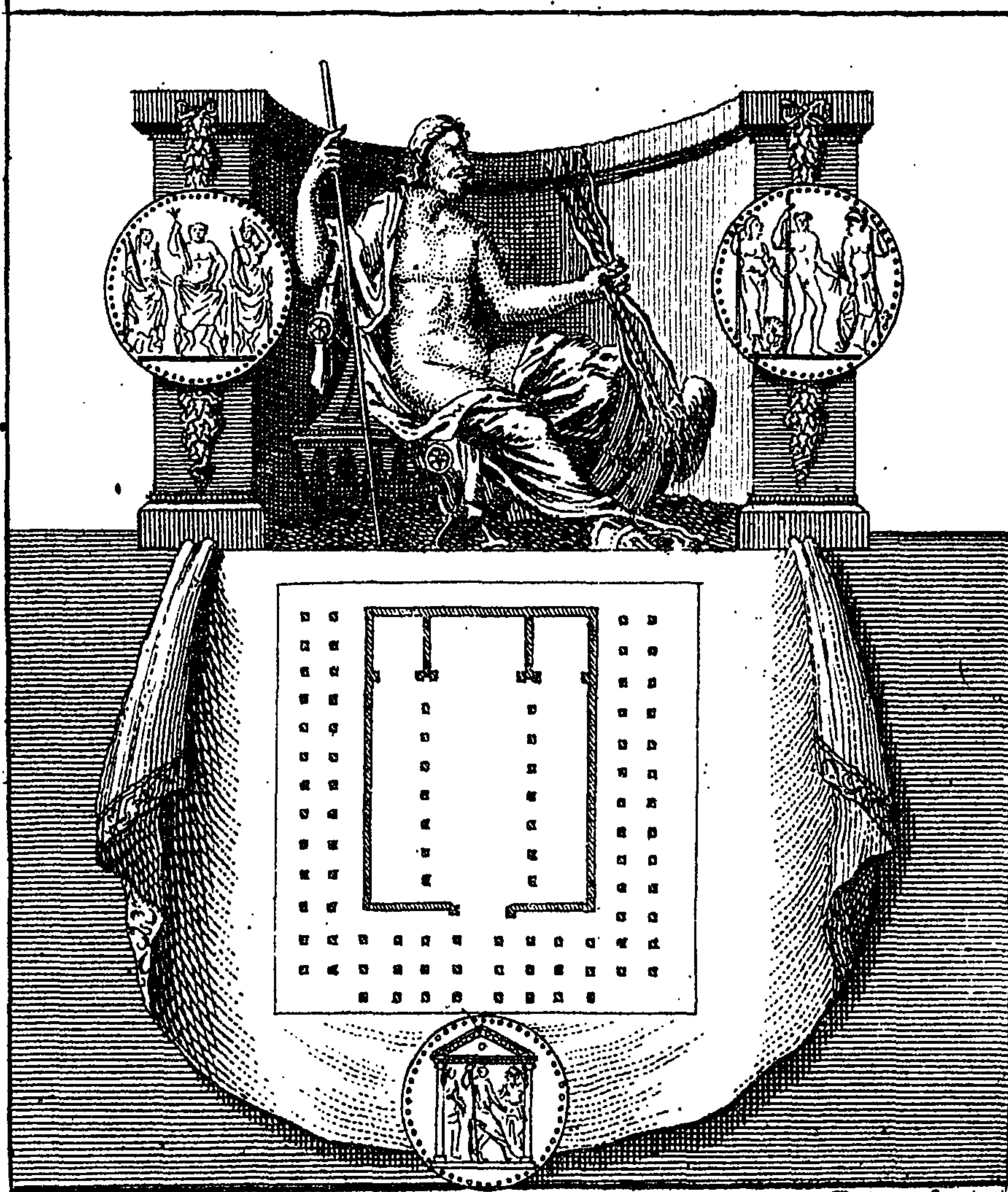
Rome under a guard of two cohorts detached for the purpose by M. Acilius, and thrown into prison. The consul L. Cornelius immediately ordered the cohorts to return to the army. Embassadors arrived from Ptolemy and Cleopatra to congratulate the Romans on Manius's having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and advising them to pass with an army into Asia, for not only all that country, but even Syria, was in the greatest alarm. As for themselves they were ready to take whatever steps the Roman senate should think proper. Thanks were returned to the king and queen, and a present of 4000 asses of brass ordered to be made to each of their embassadors.

AFTER the consul Cornelius had finished his business at Rome, he issued a proclamation ordering all the additional levies he had made, and the troops that were in Bruttium under command of A. Cornelius the pro-prætor, to rendezvous at Brundisium on the 15th of July. He likewise nominated three lieutenant-generals, Sex. Digitius, L. Apustius and C. Fabricius Luscinus, to bring vessels to transport them, from all the places on the coast to Brundisium. Thus every thing necessary being ready, he set out from Rome in his paludamentum. About 5000 Roman and Latin volunteers, who had served the limited number of campaigns under Africanus, enrol'd themselves and set out under the consul. However on the eleventh of July, before he set out, he celebrated the Apollinarian games. It was a clear day, which made visible a solar eclipse that happened by the interposition of the moon between the earth and the disc of the sun. About the same time L. Regillus, admiral of the fleet, left Rome. The senate commissioned L. Arunculeius to build thirty quinqueremes, and twenty triremes, because it was rumored, that Antiochus, after the naval battle he lost, was equipping a more considerable fleet. After the Ætolian embassadors were returned from Rome with accounts which put an end to all hopes of peace, notwithstanding all their coasts towards Peloponnesus were ravaged

CHAP. IV. by the Acheans, yet, more intent upon the danger with which they were menaced, than the loss they had already sustained, they seized mount Corax. For they did not question but the Romans would return and besiege Naupactus early in the spring. Acilius, who was no stranger to their expectations, and thought it best to surprize them, set down before Lamia^a. This city had been hard pressed by Philip, and might easily be surprized at a time when it's inhabitants expected nothing less than being attacked by him. In consequence setting out from Elatia, the first place he encamped at in the enemies dominions was on the banks of the Sperchius. Decamping from thence by night, at day break he invested the town.

CHAP. V. A S commonly happens in cases of surprize, this filled the city with fear and alarm; yet they made a vigorous defence, far beyond expectation, considering the suddenness of the attack. While the men defended the ramparts the women brought them all kinds of weapons and stones up to the walls by ladders, and this preserved the city for that day. Acilius drew off his army at noon. Before he dismissed his levy, he gave orders that they should refresh themselves and go to sleep then, and be ready in arms before day-light. He declared he would not bring them back to the camp till the city was taken. Next day he attacked the walls in several places, as he had done the day before. But as the inhabitants were weak, wanted weapons, and in particular their courage failed, he took it in a few hours. Having sold some of the plunder and distributed the rest to his troops, he held a council of war to deliberate on what enterprize was next to be undertaken. Nobody declared for marching to Naupactus, as the defile at mount Corax had been seized by the Ætolians. But not to waste the campaign idly, or suffer the Ætolians, by his continuing quiet, to enjoy the peace they could not obtain from the senate, Acilius re-

^a A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.



Parr Sculp

V..G..V..7

solved to besiege Amphissa^a: So decamping from Heraclea he marched his army over Oeta thither. When he advanced to the walls, he did not assault it as he had done Lamia, but battered it with his engines. His rams play'd against it in several places at once, and though the walls were shattered the inhabitants did not use any method to guard against these machines. They rely'd solely on their arms and valor, and by frequent sallies attacked the enemy's advanced guards, and even those troops that were posted at their works and machines.

BREACHES were already made in the wall, CHAP. VI.
when Acilius received advice that his successor, having landed his army at Apollonia, was crossing Epire and Thessaly with 13000 foot and 500 horse. He had advanced as far as the gulph of Malia^b, when he sent a detachment to summon Hypata^c. But being answered, that they could do nothing without the consent of a general diet of the Ætoliens, he would not stop to besiege it till Amphissa was taken. For this reason he set out for the latter, having detached his brother Africanus before him. On his arrival, the inhabitants, whose walls were already near quite beat down, retired, both armed and unarmed, into the citadel which they thought impregnable. The consul encamped within six miles of the city. Here ambassadors came from the Athenians first to Africanus, who had been detached before, as has been already observed, and then to the consul to implore mercy for the Ætoliens. They received the most favorable answer from Africanus, who sought only an honorable pretext for quitting the war in Ætolia, having his views fixed on Asia and king Antiochus, and for that end had directed the Athenians not only to prevail on the Romans, but even the Ætoliens to prefer peace to war. By persuasion of the Athenians the Ætoliens sent a numerous deputation very soon to Hypata. The obliging answer of Africanus, to

^a Between Locris and Pholis, and now called Lambina by Le Noir.

^b In Phthiotis, part of Thessaly.

^c At the foot of mount Oeta.

CHAP. VI. whom they applied first, increased the hope they had of obtaining peace. He told them, that when he commanded first in Spain, and then in Africa, of many nations which he had subdued, there was not one to whom he had not given greater proofs of clemency than of bravery in war. Thus peace was looked on as certain, when on their application to the consul, they received the same answer with which the senate had driven them from Rome. The Ætolians struck with this unexpected rigor, and seeing that neither the Athenian deputation, nor the obliging answer of Africanus had availed them any thing, replied, that they would report his demands to those who had commissioned them.

CHAP. VII. ON their return to Hypata they were strangely embarrassed. For they were not in a condition to furnish 1000 talents^a, and were afraid, that if they submitted implicitly to the will of the senate, they would hazard their lives. Therefore they sent the same deputies back to the consul and Africanus, to implore them, that if they sincerely intended to grant them peace, and not to deceive them with vain hopes, they would either abate part of the sum demanded, or in surrendering give them security for their lives. As the consul was inexorable, that deputation likewise was in vain. At their departure the Athenian deputies followed them, and Echedemus their chief revived the hopes of the Ætolians, who were reduced to despair by so many repulses, and in vain bewailed the miserable fate of their country. He advised them to beg a truce of six months, in order to send another deputation to Rome, representing that this delay could not enhance their miseries, which could not be greater than they were, and that by gaining time many intervening incidents might contribute to soften their present calamities. So by the advice of this Athenian, they sent back the same ambassadors, who applying first to Africanus, by his mediation obtained from the consul the truce they asked. In conse-

quence the siege of Amphissa was raised, and M. A-CHAP.
cilius, having delivered up the army to the consul, VII.
left that province. The consul returned from Am-

phissa to Thessaly, in order to cross Macedonia and Thrace into Asia. Then Africanus addressed him thus : ‘ I approve, L. Scipio, of the rout you have
‘ laid down. But your taking it with safety depends
‘ entirely on the pleasure of king Philip. If he con-
‘ tinues faithful to our state, he will of himself grant
‘ us a free passage, and supply us with provisions and
‘ every thing necessary for our help and subsistence
‘ on so long a march. But if he fall off from us, it
‘ will expose us to imminent dangers in crossing
‘ Thrace. Our safest course then would be, first to
‘ sound that monarch’s inclination. The most assur-
‘ ed method to find out his real intentions, will be
‘ to send a person to surprize him by his arriving
‘ unexpectedly.’ Ti. Sempronius, by far the most
active youth then in the army, was pitched on for
that purpose. He set out from Amphissa, and hav-
ing horses laid for him on the road, by an incredible
expedition arrived on the third day at Pella. He
found the king at an entertainment, and exhilarated
with wine. This negligence removed all suspicion
of his entertaining any thoughts of altering his alli-
ance. The monarch received him very graciously,
and next day shewed him the provisions he had gene-
rously prepared for the Roman army, and assured
him, that bridges were laid over the rivers, and the
roads levelled for their march. The courier posted
back with the same speed as he came, to carry this
news to the consul, whom he met at Thaumaci^b. In
consequence the army full of confidence and joy
marched into Macedonia, where every thing was rea-
dy prepared for them. The king received them on
their arrival, with a train becoming royal majesty,
and accompanied them in their march. He was
wanting in no kind of friendly and generous respect,
which was very agreeable to Africanus. For this il-

^b In Thessaly.

lustrious Roman, who excelled in all things, was no enemy to elegant entertainments, when not carried to excess. Philip accompanied and supplied their army with all necessaries, not only through Macedonia, but even through Thrace as far as the Hellespont.

CHAP.
VIII.

ANTIOCHUS, after the naval battle he lost near Corcyra, having had the whole winter unmolested to make preparations for the war both by sea and land, above all applied himself to repair his fleet for fear of being deprived of all power by sea. He reflected, 'that his fleet had been defeated by the Romans, when not joined by the Rhodians. And if they should be present in a second battle, and sure they would take care to be so, he would need a great many ships, in order to be a match for the enemy in strength and numbers.' For this reason he had sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring the ships of the Phœnicians, and ordered Polyxenidas, whose defeat rendered him more careful and active, to refit his old vessels, and build new ones. He himself wintered in Phrygia Major, from whence he sent for auxiliaries from all sides, even from Gallo Grecia. The inhabitants of the latter were at that time a warlike people, still retaining the ancient spirit of their nation. He had left his son Seleucus in Æolis with an army to awe the maritime cities, which were solicited both by Eumenes king of Pergamus, and by the Romans who were in Phocæa and Erythræa. The Roman fleet, as has been observed already, had wintered at Canæ. In the middle of the winter Eumenes came there with 2000 foot and 100 horse. This prince prevailed with Livius, by persuading him he might get a great booty from the enemy's country about Thyatira^a, to send 5000 soldiers on an expedition with him. This detachment returned in a few days with great plunder.

CHAP.
IX.

IN the mean time a sedition broke out at Phocæa, by means of some who engaged the populace to declare for Antiochus. They were oppressed with

^a A city of Lydia.

the fleet's wintering there, and with a tax, by which they were obliged to pay 500 gowns and 500 tunics. CHAP.
IX.

Besides, they were in great want of corn, which obliged both the Roman fleet and garison to quit the place. By this means the faction, which by seditious speeches induced the commonalty to declare for Antiochus, were freed from all apprehensions. However, the senate and principal men declared for adhering to their alliance with the Romans, but the authors of the revolt had more interest with the populace. The Rhodians, to make amends for their being too late the preceding summer, dispatched Paulistratus their admiral about the vernal equinox with a fleet of 36 sail to join the Romans. Livius had already left Canæ with 30 Roman men of war, and the 7 quadriremes which Eumenes had brought with him, and sailed to the Hellespont to favor the passage, and prepare every thing which was necessary for the army he expected by land. The first port he touched at was that called Acheum^a. Then he went up to Ilium, and sacrificed to Minerva. Here he gave a gracious reception to the deputies from Eleus^b, Dardanum^c and Rhætium^d, who came to surrender their respective cities. From thence he sailed to the mouth of the Hellespont, and leaving ten ships before Abydos, went with the rest to besiege Sestos^e. They had approached the walls sword in hand, when some fanatic Gauls met them before the gates in their sacrificing robes. These priests of Cybele said they were come by command of the Goddess, to implore the Romans to spare the city and it's walls. No injury was offered to them. Immediately after the senate and magistrates came out in procession to surrender it. From hence he returned to Abydos, where having in a conference sounded their inclinations, and not receiving a favorable answer, he prepared to assault it.

^a Old Troy near cape Sigæum. It was called *Acheum* from the Greeks laying up their ships there during the siege of Troy.

Jonesus.

^c A city of Troas.

^d The modern *Peskia*.

^e The *Dardanelles*.

^b Now *Critea* in the Thracian Chersonesus.

CHAP. DURING these transactions on the Hellespont,
 x. Polyxenidas, admiral of the king's fleet, who was a
 Rhodian exile, received advice that the fleet of his
 native country had put to sea, and that Pausistratus,
 who commanded it, had spoke of him with haughti-
 ness and contempt. Stung to the heart with these re-
 proaches, and actuated by revenge, he meditated no-
 thing night or day, but how to confute these brava-
 does by actions. He sent a person acquainted with
 them both to tell him, 'that he was capable
 ' of doing him and his country most signal service,
 ' if he could reinstate him in it.' Pausistratus, won-
 dering how that was practicable, hesitated for some
 time. But when he engaged that he would either act
 jointly with him in the affair, or faithfully conceal it,
 the messenger assured him, that Polyxenidas would
 betray either the whole royal fleet, or the greatest
 part of it to him. He asked no other recompence
 for this important service, than being reinstated in his
 country. The Rhodian admiral thought it a matter
 of too great consequence, to be lightly credited, or
 rejected with contempt. So he went to Panormus,
 a port in Samos, and staid there to examine into the
 offers made him. Couriers passed between them
 without convincing Pausistratus, till in the presence
 of his messenger Polyxenidas wrote, signed, sealed
 and delivered an engagement to perform his promi-
 ses. The former thought he had the latter firmly
 bound by this obligation; neither did he believe that
 a subject of the king's would be so mad, as to give
 under his hand an evidence against himself. Then
 Polyxenidas pretended to take the proper measures
 for effecting his design. He said, ' he would cause
 ' all preparations to be neglected; he would not em-
 ' ploy rowers, or many seamen. He would leave
 ' his present station, and under pretext of refitting
 ' some ships, would send others away to neighbor-
 ' ing posts. He would keep a few in the road of
 ' Ephesus, which, if he was forced to fight, he

* Now *Macri*.

' would

‘ would expose to be taken.’ Immediately Pausistratus fell into the real negligence, which he had been falsely assured Polyxenidas would observe. He sent some of his ships to fetch provisions from Halicarnassus, and others to the city of Samos, to be ready against he should receive advice from the traitor. Polyxenidas, the better to cover his design, drew in to dock several of his ships, and cleaned the docks in order to draw up more. He likewise rendezvoused all his seamen not at Ephesus but at Magnesia.

ONE of Antiochus’s soldiers, who had come to Samos about some private business, was apprehended as a spy, and carried to the admiral at Panormus. This fellow, when examined about the transactions at Ephesus, either through fear, or want of affection to his countrymen, revealed every thing; that there was a fleet ready fitted and man’d in the harbor; that all the seamen were sent to Magnesia near Sipylus; a few ships had been drawn ashore, the docks shut up, and that all hands were busily employ’d about naval affairs. But the admiral was so prepossessed with the vain promises of his artful enemy, that he did not give credit to this report. When Polyxenidas had got every thing ready, he sent for the rowers by night from Magnesia, haled down the ships he had drawn into dock in a great hurry, and purposely wasted the day in making preparations, because he would not have his fleet descry’d at setting out. After sunset he sailed out with 70 decked vessels, and by the help of a fair wind got into the port of Pygela^a before day. For the reason mentioned before, he kept quiet there all the next day, and in the night stood over for the land nearest Samos. From thence also he detached Nicander, a privateer captain, with 5 ships to Cape Palinurus, with orders to march from thence by land with troops to fall on the enemy on the other side of Panormus. In the mean time he divided his fleet, to secure both sides of the entry to the harbor. Pausistratus was for some time disorder-

CHAP.
XI.

^a Now Figena.

CHAP.

XI.

ed by this unexpected attack. But being an old experienced officer, he quickly recovered, and thinking it better to make head against the enemy from land than on the water, posted his troops to the right and left on two promontories, which run out into the sea from the harbor. He flattered himself he could easily repel the enemy by missile weapons from those two posts on both sides of them. But since Nicander by land disconcerted his scheme, he altered his resolution, and suddenly ordered them all on board their ships. Upon this both soldiers and sailors were seized with a panic, as if they had been to fly in their ships, when they saw themselves surrounded both by sea and land. Pausistratus saw no way of saving his fleet, but by forcing a passage by the mouth of the harbor into the open sea. Therefore, when he saw his men on board, he rowed away fast towards it, ordering the rest to follow him. He had already got out, when Polyxenidas attacked his ship on three different quarters with as many men of war. The vessel being bulged by the strokes of their beaks sunk, and all on board her were overwhelmed with darts. Among the rest Pausistratus died fighting bravely. The rest of his fleet were either taken within or without the harbor. Nicander seized some as they were endeavoring to put off from the shore. Only five Rhodian vessels and two Coan^b escaped by forcing a passage through the thickest of the enemy, by lighting great fires on their prows. They had two long poles projecting from their heads, with iron kettles full of fire hanging at the end of them. The triremes which were coming from the neighboring port of Erythræa to the relief of the Rhodians, met those that escaped by the way, and sailed all together to the Romans on the Hellespont. About the same time the guards at one of the gates of Phocæa opened it to Seleucus, and put him in possession of the town Cyme^c also, and other maritime cities revolted to him for fear.

^b Cos is now the island of *Lango*.

^c *Casri* in *Æolis*, between *Myrina* and *Phocæa*.

DURING

DURING these transactions in Æolia, Abydos for some days was defended by the king's garison. But being all wearied, the magistrates, with the permission of Philotas, who commanded the garison, were treating with Livius about terms of capitulating. They had agreed on every thing, excepting whether the garison should march out with their arms or not. While they were disputing on this article, a courier arrived with advice of the defeat of the Rhodians, and so the opportunity of taking the town was lost. For Livius, fearing that Polyxenidas, flushed with his great success, would attack his fleet at Canæ, quitted the siege of Abydos and the Hellespont immediately, and put to sea with the ships that were at Canæ. Eumenes also came to Elæas. Livius, being joined by two Mitylenian triremes, went to Phocæa with all his fleet. But hearing that there was a strong garison of the king's in it, and that Seleucus was encamped near it, he ravaged their sea coast, and embarking a great deal of plunder, especially men, staid no longer than till Eumenes should come up with his fleet, and then set out for Samos. The news of the defeat of the Rhodian fleet filled them with great grief, and gave them a great alarm. For besides the loss of their soldiers and ships, they had lost the flower of their youth, as most of their nobility had followed Pausistratus, who was highly respected by his countrymen on account of his extraordinary merit. But considering at last that they had been treacherously over-reached, and by a countryman of their own, their grief was turned into resentment. They immediately detached ten men of war, and in a few days ten more, under the command of Eudamus, who, though not so able an admiral as Pausistratus, yet they hoped would at least be more cautious, because he had less fire in his temper. The Romans and king Eumenes touched first with their fleet at Erythræa. Staying here only one night, next day they stood away for Corycum^a, a promontory

^a To the west of Teii, on the *Ionian Gulph*.

near Teii^b. From hence they intended to have crossed over to the nearest ports of Samos, but not waiting till the sun rose, by which the pilots could have discovered the weather, they met with a great storm. For in the middle of their passage the wind veered from north-east to due north, and raised a great swell in the sea.

CHAP.

XIII.



POLYXENIDAS, imagining the Roman fleet would sail to join the Rhodians at Samos, left Ephesus, and appeared off Myonnesus^a, from whence he stood away for an island called Macris^b. His design was to pick up any ships that might straggle from the enemy's main fleet, or to attack their rear as they passed. But seeing them dispersed by a storm, he first imagined he had got a fair opportunity to attack them; but as the wind increased, and the waves run mountains high, he perceived that impracticable, and so stood away to the island Æthalia, in order to attack them next day, coming in from the sea to the port of Samos. A small number of the Roman ships made this port in the first part of the night, and the rest, after being tossed about all night, ran into the same place. Here being informed by the peasants that the enemy's fleet lay at Æthalia, they held a council of war, in order to determine whether they should attack it immediately, or wait the arrival of the Rhodian squadron. Having resolved to defer the attack, they sailed away for Corycum, from whence they came. Polyxenidas likewise, after a fruitless expedition, returned to Ephesus. In consequence of his having left the sea clear, the Roman fleet returned to Samos, where the Rhodian arrived within a few days. And as an evidence that they waited for it, they immediately stood away for Ephesus to give the enemy battle, or oblige them to own their fear by refusing to fight, which would have a good effect on the allies. They drew up in a line

^a Now *Susor*, a city on the coast of *Ionia*. signifies an island of rats.

^b *Icarus*, one of the *Cyclades*.

* In the *Ionian Gulf*. The word

facing the mouth of the port. But seeing none move against them, one division anchored at the entry to the haven, and another landed the troops. They had ravaged the country, and were carrying off a vast booty, when, approaching the walls, Andronicus the Macedonian, who commanded the garison at Ephesus, made a sally upon them, and after retaking most of the plunder, forced them to their ships, and to put off from land. Next day the Romans, having placed an ambuscade in the middle of the way, went in a body up to the city, in order to draw the governor into it. But perceiving that a suspicion of the fact deter'd every person from coming out, they returned to their fleet; and as the enemy avoided a battle both by sea and land, the fleet returned to Samos from whence it came. From thence the prætor detached two triremes belonging to their Italian allies, and two Rhodian ones under the command of a Rhodian commodore named Epicrates, to cruize in the streights^c of Cephallenia, which was infested by a Spartan pirate, Hybrista, with the youth of Cephallenia; so that the Romans could not receive their supplies from Italy.

AT Pyreæus Epicrates met L. Æmil. Regillus, who was to succede Livius in the command of the fleet. Regillus being informed of the defeat of the Rhodians, and having only two quinqueremes with him, made Epicrates return with his four ships to convoy him to Asia. He was also attended by some open vessels belonging to Athens, so he crossed the Ægean sea. Timasistrates a Rhodian came to him about midnight with two quadriremes. Being introduced to Æmilius, he told him he was come as a convoy to him, because that coast was infested by Antiochus's ships, which made frequent excursions from Hellepont and Abydos. Besides, on his passage from Chios to Samos, he met two Rhodian quadriremes, detached on purpose by Livius, and king Eumenes with two quinqueremes. On his arrival at

^c Between Cephallenia and Zacynthus.

Samos, he received the command of the fleet from Livius, and after having duly offered the usual sacrifices, he called a council of war. Livius being asked his opinion first, spoke to this effect. ‘None can give more salutary counsel than he who would advise another to do what he himself would do in the same circumstances. He had resolved to have carried with him to Ephesus many transports full of ballast, and sunk them in the mouth of their port, which it would have been easy to have choaked up, as the channel to it was like a river, long, narrow and full of shelves. By this means the enemy’s fleet would be entirely useless.’ But nobody liked the advice.

CHAP. UPON this king Eumenes rose up and asked
 XV. him, ‘What course they would take after having
 choaked up the port by sinking those vessels?
 Whether they would leave it unguarded, and sail
 away with their fleet to relieve their allies, and terrify their enemy’s? or block it up with their whole force? If they went away, the enemy would certainly weigh the hulls that were sunk, and open the entrance to the port with greater ease than it was shut. But if they were to remain before it, what purpose could it serve to stop it up? On the other hand, the enemy would pass the campaign in quiet in a safe harbor, and an opulent city plentifully furnished with all necessaries out of Asia. But the Romans, exposed to waves and tempests in an open road, would by continuing there be in want of every thing, and rather tied up and prevented from going upon necessary expeditions, than block up the enemy.’ Then Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, declared, that he disapproved Livius’s project, but did not propose another himself. At last Epicrates, the Rhodian commodore, was of opinion, that quite neglecting Ephesus, they ought to detach a squadron into Lycia, to bring Patara, the capital of that nation, into the Roman interest. This will produce two salutary consequences. The Rhodians, being secured from all attacks from the
 con-

continent upon their island, will be put in a condition to apply their whole strength to the war with Antiochus; and moreover, that fleet which was fitting out at Lycia would be prevented from joining Polyxenidas.^c This opinion prevailed. However Regillus resolved to sail with his whole fleet, and alarm the enemy in the port of Ephesus.

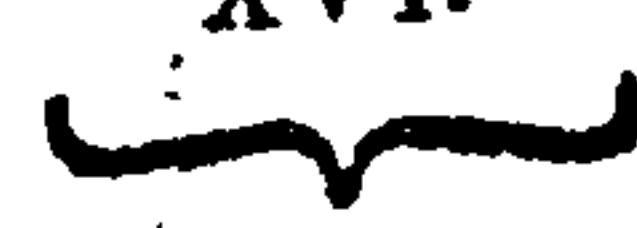
IN the mean time, Livius was detached to Lycia with a squadron consisting of two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes, and two undecked vessels of Smyrna. He had orders to sail first to Rhodes, and communicate his resolutions to them. His orders were exactly executed by all the states by which he passed, Miletus^a, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus^b and Coos. As soon as he arrived at Rhodes, he laid before them his instructions, and asked their advice on them. After they unanimously approved them, and ordered three quadriremes to join his squadron, he set sail for Patara. He arrived there with a fair wind, and hoped some motion would be made in his favor on this sudden alarm. But the wind soon changing, occasioned a great swell. However, by the help of their oars they got to the land. Yet there was no safe anchorage about the city, nor could they lye before the enemy's port, because the sea was rough, and night coming on. So sailing by the walls, they went to Phænicus, a safe port about two miles distant. It was commanded by high rocks, which the inhabitants and the king's troops that garisoned the place quickly seized. Notwithstanding the landing places were very difficult and steep, yet Livius detached the Iſſæan^e auxiliaries, and light armed cohorts of Smyrna, to repel them. These sustained the fight at first, while they had but a few to skirmish with, at a distance with missile weapons, and did not come to close engagement. But the number of the enemy increasing, and the whole multitude pouring down upon them, Livius began to fear lest his aux-


CHAP.
xvi.

^a Now *Melassa*.

^b Cape *Crio*.

^c Now *Laiasso* in *Caramania*.

CHAP. ^{XVI.}  iliaries should be intercepted, and his ships be in danger from the land. For this reason he brought on to the attack not only his soldiers, but the sailors and rowers, armed in the best manner they could. Then ensued a bloody battle, and not only several soldiers, but even L. Apustius fell in this tumultuous rencounter. Yet at last the Lycians were routed, put to flight, and driven back into their town, and the Romans returned to their ships, having purchased the victory at the expence of much blood. From thence Livius went to the gulph of Telmessus, which has Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other. Here laying aside all thoughts of further attempts on Patara, he sent the Rhodians home. He himself coasted along Asia for Greece, and meeting the two Scipios about Thessaly, sailed away for Italy.

CHAP. ^{XVII.}  WHEN Æmilius got notice that the expedition into Lycia had miscarried, and Livius returned to Italy, while he himself had been obliged by a storm to leave Ephesus, without effecting any thing, and return to Samos, and that the attempt on Patara had not succeeded, he resolved to sail with his whole fleet, and attack that city with the greatest vigor. Having coasted along Miletus, and the coasts of other states in the Roman interest, he made a descent at Jassos^a in the gulph of Bargylia. This city was garisoned by Antiochus's troops. The Romans laid all the country round it waste. Then having sent persons to sound the inclinations of the principal men and magistrates, and received for answer, that they had nothing in their power, he advanced to assault the walls. The Roman had some Jassensian exiles with him, who in great numbers conjured the Rhodians, 'not to suffer a neighboring city, and allied 'to them by blood^b, to perish without having given any offence. They themselves had been banished solely on account of their firm attachment to the Romans, and the same forces of the kings that

^a A city of *Ionis*, on the frontiers of *Caria*.

^b They came both originally from *Athens*.

‘ had driven them from their native city, still over-
 ‘ awed those that remained in it. For all the inha-
 ‘ bitants were unanimously inclined to shake off the
 ‘ Syrian yoke.’ These prayers made an impression
 on the Rhodians, who, being seconded by king Eu-
 menes, by urging the relation between them, and at
 the same time lamenting the wretched circumstances
 of the city, already in a manner besieged by the
 king’s garison, prevailed with Regillus not to attack
 it. Thus they set sail thence, and because every o-
 ther place was subject to them, they went to Lo-
 ryma^c, a maritime city opposite to Rhodes. Here
 the legionary tribunes privately murmured among
 themselves, but at last it reached Æmilius’s ears.
 They said, ‘ the fleet was carried far from Ephe-
 ‘ sus, the proper seat of the war, and the enemy
 ‘ left behind at liberty to attack numerous cities in
 ‘ their alliance with impunity.’ These murmurs af-
 fected Æmilius very much. Wherefore assembling
 the Rhodians, he enquired whether the port of Patara
 was large enough to contain the whole fleet. When
 they answered in the negative, he took occasion from
 thence to quit that enterprize, and so returned to Sa-
 mos.

CHAP.
 XVII.

AT the same time Seleucus, son of Antiochus, CHAP.
 having kept his army all winter in Æolis, partly em-
 ploy’d in assisting his allies, and partly in ravaging
 the lands of those states he could not prevail on to
 declare for him, formed the design of entering the
 dominions of Eumenes, while he, in conjunction with
 the Romans and Rhodians, was at a great distance at-
 tacking the maritime cities of Lycia. He first approach-
 ed Elæa with hostile banners display’d. But quitting
 that siege, he laid waste the country with fire and sword,
 and marched on to Pergamos, the capital, and strong-
 est place of the whole kingdom. Attalus^a at first
 encamped before the walls, and rather harassed the
 enemy in skirmishes of his horse and light foot, than
 made head against them. At last these encounters

CHAP.
 XVIII.

^c Now *Maxi*, in *Asia Minor*.

^a *Eumenes’s* brother.

CHAP.
XVIII.

convinced him that he was not a match for them, so he retired within the walls. Then the city was invested. Almost at the same time Antiochus set out from Apamea, and encamped first at Sardis, and then near Seleucus, at the source of the Caycus^b, with a numerous army composed of different nations. The most formidable troops he had were 4000 Gallo-Greeks. These with a few others he detached to ravage the lands about Pergamos. As soon as this news reached Samos, Eumenes set out to repel the war in his own country, and arrived with his fleet at Elæa. Having found light horse and foot ready waiting for him there, he came under their escorte to his capital, before the enemy perceived it, or made any motion to intercept him. The light skirmishes immediately began again; but Eumenes would not venture a decisive battle. A few days after the Roman and Rhodian fleet arrived from Samos at Elæa to assist him. When Antiochus got notice that their troops were landed at Elæa, and that two such numerous fleets were assembled in that port, while at the same time the consul was in Macedonia with his army, and preparing to pass the Hellespont, he thought it the properest time to ask a peace, before he should be hard pressed both by sea and land. He retired to an eminence facing Ælæa. There he left all his infantry, and going down with his cavalry, which were 6000 in number, into a plain under the walls of the town, sent a trumpet to Æmilius with proposals of a peace.

CHAP.
XIX.

THE Roman sent for Eumenes from Pergamos, and held a council of war, to which the Rhodians were admitted. The latter were not averse to peace. But Eumenes insisted, & that they could not with honor treat of or conclude a peace at that time. Can we, said he, when shut up and besieged within our walls receive conditions of peace with credit? Besides, what force will a treaty have, that we shall

^b It rises in *Mysia*, and runs into *Guereflia*. It is now called *Coftri*, or the *Ægean Sea*, near the gulph of *Girmasti*.

negotiate without the consul, or being authorized
 by the Roman senate and people? And pray, when
 you have concluded a peace, will you immediately
 return into Italy with your army and fleet? or will
 you wait till you know the consul's pleasure con-
 cerning it, the orders of the senate and resolutions
 of the people? The consequence of this will be,
 that you'll remain in Asia, retire into winter quarters,
 suspend all hostilities, impoverish your allies by fur-
 nishing you provisions, and last of all, if your su-
 periors please, begin the war anew; a war we have
 in our power to terminate with the help of the Gods
 before the conclusion of this campaign, if we do
 not stop in our present glorious career.' This opi-
 nion prevailed, and answer was returned to Antiochus,
 that they could not treat of a peace till the arrival of
 the consul. The king's hopes of peace being thus
 frustrated, he ravaged the lands round Æleia and
 Pergamos. Then leaving his son Seleucus there,
 he went to Adramyttium^a, committing the same ho-
 stilities during his whole march. After that they
 went to that fruitful country called the plains of
 Thebæ^b, celebrated by the immortal poet Homer.
 The king's troops got more booty here than in any
 territory in Asia Minor. Æmilius and Eumenes
 came also with their fleets to succor Adramyttium.

CHAP.
XIX.

LUCKILY about the same time one Diophanes
 arrived at Elæa, with 1000 foot and 100 horse from
 Achaia. As soon as they landed Attalus sent guides
 who brought them to Pergamos by night. They
 were all veteran experienced troops, and their cap-
 tain had learned the art military under Philopoemen,
 the ablest general at that time in Greece. This offi-
 cer took only two days to rest his men and horses,
 to view the enemy's posts, and to study the time and
 places by which they made their approaches and re-
 tired. The king's troops had approached as far as

CHAP.
XX.

^a Now *Adramiti*, or *S. Dimitri*, in *Asia Minor*, on the confines of *Mysia* and *Treat*. ^b Destroy'd by Achilles during the Trojan war.

CHAP. the foot of the hill on which the city stood. By this
 XX. means they could ravage the country behind them
 with security, and none ventured out of the city, so
 much as to throw a dart at their advanced guards.
 After they obliged the enemy to take shelter within
 the town, they conceived the greatest contempt for
 them, and became quite negligent and secure them-
 selves. The greatest part of them did not keep their
 horses saddled or bridled. Only a few remained under
 arms and on duty; the rest were dispersed through
 the fields; some wasting the time in youthful diver-
 sions, some feasting under the cool shades, and others
 asleep at their ease. Diophanes observing this from
 the top of the walls ordered his men to arm and be
 ready at the gate. He himself went and told Attalus,
 that he had a mind to beat up the enemy's quarters.
 Attalus with difficulty consented, as he considered he
 was to oppose 300 horse with 100, and 4000 foot
 with 1000. However he marched out and halted
 not far from the enemy's post, waiting an opportu-
 nity to fall on them. But those in the city looked
 on this as phrenzy rather than a bold and prudent at-
 tempt. The enemy also viewed them a little, and
 seeing they made no motion, did not abate of their
 usual negligence, making a jest of this handful of
 men. Diophanes kept his detachment quiet for some
 time, as if he had brought them out to see and be
 seen. But when he perceived the enemy quitted
 their ranks, ordering his foot to follow as fast as
 possible, he himself at the head of his own troop
 galloped up and suddenly attacked the advanced
 guard, while both his horse and foot sent up the
 loudest acclamations. Not only the men were terri-
 fy'd, but the frightened horses breaking their halters,
 occasioned great terror and confusion among the ene-
 my. A small number of horses were still trembling
 in their places; but it was not easy to saddle, bridle,
 or mount them, as the Achean cavalry had occasion-
 ed a much greater confusion among them than could
 have been expected from so small a number. But

Diophanes's foot, who were regularly formed and on their guard, attacking the enemy, who were carelessly dispersed and half asleep, made great slaughter of them, and put those who escaped death to the rout on all sides. Diophanes continued the pursuit as far as he could without exposing himself, and returned triumphant to the city, having purchased to the Achæans great glory and esteem from the citizens, who, both men and women, had seen the action from the walls.

THE next day the king's troops, keeping more CHAP. on their guard and observing better discipline, retired XXI. 500 paces farther from the city. At the same time the Achæans marched out to the same place. Both sides stood facing each other for many hours, as if they had waited for one another to attack. At last near sunset, when it was time to retire to their lines, the Syrian troops, with colors flying, began to file off in a line, rather proper for a march than action. Diophanes made no motion while they were in sight. At last he charged their rear on the same ground he had done the day before. He caused so much terror and confusion among them, that they suffered themselves to be cut in the back without facing about to fight. In this consternation, which was so great that they scarce kept their ranks, he drove them within their lines. These bold attacks of the Achæans obliged Seleucus to quit the Pergamenian territories. As soon as Antiochus got notice, that the Romans and Eumenes were arrived to defend Adramyttium, he retired from before it and ravaged the country. Then he took Peræa^a, a colony of Mitylenians. He likewise took, at the first assault, Cotton^b, Doryleum^c, Aphrodyfias^d, and Crene^e. From thence he crossed Thyatira and returned to Sardis. Seleucus staid on the coast to over-awe some cities and protect

^a In *Mysia* on the borders of *Æolis*.

^b Unknown if not *Cotiaon* in *Phrygia Major*.

^c Now *Tzadurili*, in the same province.

^d There were two of that name; the first in *Caria*, now called *Santa Croce*; the second belonged to *Cilicia*, and is now called *S. Theodoro*.

^e On the confines of *Galatia*.

others,

CHAP. others. The Roman fleet with Eumenes and the
 XXI. Rhodians returned first to Mytelene^f, and then back to
 Ælea, from whence they came. Then standing away
 for Phocæa, they arrived at an island called Bachius^g,
 above the city. After they had rifled the temples,
 from which they had abstained before, and carried off
 the fine paintings, with which the island abounded,
 they approached the city itself. They divided, in or-
 der to attack it in two parts. But perceiving, as
 Antiochus had thrown a garison of 3000 men into
 it, that it could not be taken without raising works,
 applying engines and ladders, they quitted the siege
 immediately and retired to the island again, after
 having done the enemy no other harm than ravaging
 their lands round the city.

CHAP. FROM thence, it was agreed, that Eumenes
 XXII. should be sent home to prepare every thing necessary
 for the consul's passing the Hellespont with his army;
 and that the combined fleet of Romans and Rhodians
 should return to Samos, where they were to lye in the
 road to prevent Polyxenidas from moving from
 Ephesus. Accordingly they set out for their respective
 stations. At Samos, M. Æmilius the prætor's bro-
 ther died. After the celebration of his obsequies,
 the Rhodians set out with thirteen of their own men
 of war, one Coan and one Cnidian quinquireme, to
 wait for a fleet which it was reported was coming
 from Syria. Two days before Eudamus left Samos
 with his ships, another squadron of thirteen sail under
 the command of Pamphilida had been detached from
 Rhodes against the same fleet. Pamphilida, taking
 with him the four vessels that were stationed to pro-
 tect Caria, raised the siege of Dedala^a, and some
 other inconsiderable forts, invested by the king's
 troops. Then it was agreed, that Eudamus should
 put to sea directly. He was also joined by six open
 vessels. Then he made all possible dispatch, and
 followed those that had gone before to the port of

^f An island of *Lesbos*, now *Metelin*.^a Now *Urtie*.^g In the gulph of *Smyrna*.

Megiste^b. From thence putting to sea in one united squadron, they sailed to Phaselis, which place they judged to be most proper to wait for the enemy.

PHASELIS is situate on the confines of Lycia CHAP. and Pamphylia. It projects far into the sea, and is XXIII. the first land seen in sailing from Cilicia to Rhodes, and from it ships may be descried at a great distance. This place was pitched upon as the most advantageous for meeting the enemy. But not having foreseen that the air there was unwholesom, as it was then midsummer, the unusual smell bred diseases, especially among the rowers. So for fear of the plague they left that station, and coasting along the gulph of Pamphylia arrived at the river Eurymedon^a. Here the people of Aspendus^b informed them, that the enemy lay at Sida^c. Contrary winds had detained the king's fleet. These were called the Etesian^d winds, like the Favonian monsoons, which blow from the west every spring. The Rhodian fleet consisted of thirty two quadriremes and four triremes. The king's of thirty seven large vessels among which were three hepteremes and four hexiremes. Besides they had ten triremes. The enemy were likewise perceived from a watch-tower. Next morning by day break both fleets came out of port as if they had agreed to come to action that day. As soon as the Rhodians had doubled the head-land which projects from Sida into the sea, they perceived the enemy, who in their turn descried them. Hannibal commanded the left of the royal fleet next the sea, and Apollonius, one of the king's favorites, on the right. By this time they were formed in a large front. The Rhodians advanced in a line fileways. Eudamus was at their head, Chariclitus in the rear, and Pamphilidas in the center. As soon as Eudamus perceived the ene-

^b Now *Strongallo*, a small island near the coasts of *Lycia*.

^a Now *Zacuth*, rises in *Pisidia*, and falls into the Mediterranean.

^b Sixty miles up from the mouth of the *Zacuth*.

^c Now *Scandalor*, or *Chirifonda*, on the confines of *Cilicia*.

^d They blow sometimes from one and sometimes from another quarter of the heavens.

my drawn up and prepared for action, he stretched towards the sea, and ordered the rest to follow in order and form one front. This occasioned some confusion at first. For he did not go so far out as to leave sufficient room for the rest to draw up. Besides he himself immediately attacked Hannibal's division with five ships only. For the rest being ordered to form a front did not second him. The rear division had no room left them on the side next the land; and while they were foul of each other, the right wing was engaged with Hannibal.

CHAP.

XXIV.

HOWEVER the Rhodians soon disintangled themselves by their skill and experience in sea affairs. For the headmost of them standing immediately out to sea left those that followed sufficient room to draw up towards the land. If any of them run full tilt against an enemy's ship, they either tore her bow, broke her oars, or sailing freely through the lines, attacked them in the stern. But what terrify'd the enemy most, was to see one of the king's hepteremes sunk at one stroke by a Rhodian ship of a much smaller rate. In consequence the enemy's right wing began to fly. Towards the sea, Hannibal with a superior force pressed hard on Eudamus, who in every other respect was an over match for him. Nay, he had certainly surrounded him, if the Rhodian admiral had not hung out the signal usually made to rally a dispersed fleet, upon which all the victorious ships from the right wing flew to his relief. Then Hannibal, with all the ships of his division fled. The Rhodians did not pursue, because the greatest number of their crews were still sick of the distempers they had been seized with at Phaselis, and for that reason were sooner fatigued. Therefore they cast anchor to refresh themselves. At that instant Eudamus, perceiving from the poop of his ship many of the enemies ships, that were disabled and torn to pieces, towing away by open boats, and twenty more in little better condition, he ordered silence and called, 'Rise, all of you, and behold this agreeable sight.'

Upon

Upon this they started up, and seeing in what consternation the enemy fled, called aloud with one voice to pursue. Eudamus's own ship was much shattered. So he ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to follow them, without exposing themselves. They pursued a great way, but seeing Hannibal near land, and afraid lest the wind should prevent themselves from getting off shore, they returned to Eudamus. With great difficulty they towed to Phaselis the heptereme which was shattered at the first attack. From thence they returned to Rhodes, not so much rejoicing on account of their victory, as blaming each other for not having sunk or taken the enemy's whole fleet while they had it in their power. Hannibal was so discouraged by this single defeat, that he durst not venture to coast along Lycia, though he ardently desired to join the king's old fleet as soon as possible. But not even to leave him a free passage here the Rhodians detached Chariclitus with twenty beaked galleys to Patara and the port of Megiste. They ordered Eudamus to join the Roman fleet at Samos with seven of the largest ships of his squadron, that he might use all his persuasions and advice to engage them to besiege Patara.

THE news of this victory first, and then the arrival of the Rhodians, gave the Romans great joy. It appeared plainly, that if the former were secure from all apprehensions from Patara, they easily render all that coast safe. But as Antiochus had set out from Sardis, they were obliged to stay and guard Ionia and Æolis, lest the Syrian should fall on the maritime cities. They detached Pamphilidas with four ships to join the fleet before Patara. Antiochus not only gathered together the garisons of the cities around him; but sent letters and ambassadors to Prusias^a king of Bithynia^b, inveighing against the Romans for passing into Asia. 'They are come,

^a Surnamed the *Hunter*, and son of *Zipætes*, who took possession of *Bithynia*, on the death of *Lyfimachus*.


^b It is now called by the Turks, *Bursia*.


CHAP.

xxv.

said he, to destroy all monarchies, that there may
 be no empire but that of the Romans in the whole
 world. After having subjected Philip and Nabis,
 they now attack me in the third place. This
 fire would spread itself, gradually devouring those
 that were nearest to it, till it had consumed all with
 unabating rage. Their next step in order from me
 is into Bithynia, since Eumenes has yielded him-
 self up to voluntary slavery.' But a letter from the
 consul Scipio, and in particular from his brother
 Africanus, effaced the impressions made by these
 letters on Prusias, and removed his suspicions of the
 Romans having any such design. Besides, urging the
 constant practice of the Roman people in augment-
 ing the majesty of the kings in alliance with them,
 by every kind of honor, he engaged Prusias to em-
 brace their friendship by producing examples in his
 own family. 'The petty kings of Spain, whom
 they had taken under their protection, they had
 left great kings. They had not only placed Masi-
 nissa in his father's throne, but had put him in pos-
 session of the kingdom of Syphax, who had for-
 merly expelled him his own. So that now he was
 not only the most potent king of Asia, but equal in
 majesty and power to any monarch in the world.
 T. Quinctius had left Philip and Nabis, though
 enemies conquered in war, in possession of their
 dominions. In the preceding year they had remit-
 ted to Philip the tribute he owed, restored him his
 son whom he had given in hostage, and their ge-
 nerals had suffered him to recover some towns not
 belonging to Macedon. The senate would have
 held Nabis in the same consideration, if his own
 phrenzy first, and then the fraudulent practices of
 the Ætolians had not ruined him.' But the arrival
 of C. Livius, who had formerly commanded the
 fleet, in quality of ambassador to him from Rome,
 absolutely fixed the king of Bithynia. He convinced
 him, that the Romans were more likely to be victo-
 rious than the Syrian, and that their friendship was
 more to be depended on than that monarch's.

ANTIOCHUS, disappointed in his hope of alliance with Prusias, set out from Sardis to review his fleet, which had lain several months ready to put to sea at Ephesus. This he did from reflecting, that with his land forces he should not be able to sustain the war against the Roman army with the two Scipios at it's head, rather than that he had ever succeeded in any former attempts by sea, or that he had then greater confidence in his fleet. Yet his hopes were a little flattered at that time by hearing, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet lay about Patara, and that king Eumenes was gone with all his ships to meet the consul at Hellepont. He was also buoy'd up with the remembrance how the Rhodian fleet had been destroyed at Samos, by a well concerted stratagem. In this confidence, he sent Polyxenidas with the fleet to use all means to bring on an action, and marched his land army to Notium, a city of the Colophonians, situated on the sea-coast about two miles from the ancient Colophon. He had a strong desire to become master of this town, which stood on an eminence so near Ephesus, that the Colophonians saw every thing he did either by sea or land, and immediately gave notice of it to the Romans, who he did not doubt, as soon as they should hear of it's being invested, would directly come from Samos with their fleet to it's relief. By this means Polyxenidas would have an opportunity to fight. For this reason he raised works against it, and drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation round it even to the sea on both sides. Then he approached it by mounts, galleries, and with rams covered with terrasses. The Colophonians, terrify'd by this dreadful apparatus, sent deputies to Æmilius at Samos, to implore his protection. Æmilius was uneasy at having remained so long unactive at Samos, and expected nothing less than that Polyxenidas, whom he had twice in vain provoked to battle, would now attack him: besides he thought it shameful, that Eumenes with his fleet assisted the consuls in transporting their legions into Asia, and that he was detained for the relief


CHAP. XXVI.  lief of the Colophonians, whose city was besieged, and he did not know how long they might be so. Eudamus the Rhodian, who had detained him at Samos when he was resolved to sail to the Hellespont, and all the other officers urged him to comply with the deputies request. They represented, ‘ how much
 ‘ better it would be to relieve his invested allies, to
 ‘ gain a second victory over a fleet he had once al-
 ‘ ready defeated, and deprive the enemy of all force
 ‘ at sea ; than, by deserting his allies, and leaving
 ‘ Antiochus sole master by sea and land, to pass
 ‘ from his proper scene of action to Hellespont, where
 ‘ Eumenes and his fleet were sufficient for the war.’


CHAP. XXVII.  AS they had consumed all their provisions, he resolved to go to Chios, the Roman magazine, and where the store-ships from Italy landed, to take in some. As they were sailing round to the back-side of the island (which with respect to Chios and Erythra, bears N. E.) intending to stand over for the former, he learned by letters, that a number of store-ships with corn had arrived there from Italy, but those which were bringing wines had been detained by contrary winds. At the same time he received advice, that the city of Teos^a liberally furnished the king’s fleet with provisions, and had promised him 5000 hogsheads of wine. So he altered his course and stretched away for that city, either to prevail with the inhabitants voluntarily to give them the provisions they had provided for the king, or to treat them as enemies. As they were standing in towards the land, they descry’d fifteen sail near Myonnesus. Taking it for a royal squadron, the prætor resolved to chace it. But he soon perceived it to be a fleet of small swift sailing pirates. They had made a descent on the coast of Chios, and were returning laded with booty of all sorts, but, spying a fleet at sea, sheered off. As they were nearer land, and light vessels made purposely for running, they outsailed the Roman, and before he could come up, got safe to Myonnesus.

^a New Susor in Ionia.

However, thinking to carry them out of port, he stood in after them, without being acquainted with the soundings. Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos, rising, in form of a cone, from a broad bottom to a narrow pointed top. It has a communication with the continent by a narrow avenue, and guarded on the side of the sea by steep rocks almost undermined by the beating of the waves; in-
 somuch that in some places the cliffs hang farther out into the water than the haven where the vessels lye under them. He durst not approach it for fear of the pyrates, who stood ready to annoy him from those projected cliffs. So he spent the day to no purpose. In the night he stood away disappointed of his aim, and next day arrived at Teos. Having carried his ships into the port, behind the city, called Geræsticus, he sent his marines to ravage the fields round the town.

WHEN the Teians saw the devastation of their fields, they sent deputies with a flag of peace to the prætor, to tell him they had never been guilty of any hostilities against the Romans, either in word or action. But he accused them ' with having supply'd
 ' the enemy's fleet with provisions, and told them of
 ' the great quantity of wine they had provided for
 ' Polyxenidas. If they would give it to him, he
 ' would recal his troops from ravaging their country,
 ' but if they refused, he would treat them as ene-
 ' mies.' The deputies having returned with this se-
 vere answer, the magistrates assembled the people, to deliberate on the proper measures to be taken. In the mean time Polyxenidas sail'd from Colophon, and as soon as he heard the Roman fleet had left Samos, chased the pirates into Myonnesus, and was at anchor in the port Geræsticus, he privately entered a port in the island of Macris, opposite to cape Myonnesus. From thence he sent to watch the enemy's motions, and at first conceived hopes of being able to shut up the Roman fleet here, as he had formerly done that of the Rhodians at Samos. The ports of

CHAP. the two places are very much alike. The two promon-
 XXVIII.  tories, which form the bason, lye so near at the points that two ships can scarce go out abreast. Polyxenidas resolved to block up this entrance in the night, and posted ten ships at the points of the promontories to fall on the enemy as they came out, and land the marines of his other ships, as he had done at Panormus, that he might attack the enemy at once both by sea and land. This was a well concerted scheme, but missed of success by the Roman fleet shifting it's station to the port before the town, because it seemed more convenient for loading the provisions, since the Teans had promised to comply with the prætor's demands. It is also said that Eudamus the Rhodian pointed out the inconvenience of their first station, taking the hint from two vessels running foul in the narrow entrance and breaking their oars. The danger likewise he apprehended from Antiochus, who was encamped near by land, induced the prætor to change his station.

CHAP. THE fleet being brought close up to the town,
 XXIX.  the marines and sailors, ignorant of Polyxenidas's designs, had gone ashore to get their share of provisions and wine for their proper vessels; when luckily about mid-day a peasant brought intelligence to the admiral, that he had seen a fleet anchor in the port of Macris the day before, and a little before seen some of them coming out. The prætor, struck with this impending danger, ordered the trumpets to sound, as a signal for all that were dispersed in the fields to return, and sent the tribunes into the city to make the marines and sailors get on board. They were in as much confusion as people generally are at a sudden fire or taking of their city; some running to the town to recal the men, and others running from it on board their ships: the clamor was so great, that they could not hear the proper orders, or distinguish for what the trumpets sounded; however they all got on board at last. Still the precipitation was so great, that they could scarce know or come
 at

at their respective posts. This confusion had been attended with dangerous consequences both at land and by sea, had not Æmilius, after assigning each their office, sail'd out of port first with his own ship, and receiving each vessel as they came out formed them in one line in their proper stations. Eudamus kept on shore longer, to give his men time to embark without confusion, and to send out each ship as it was ready. By this means the Romans, by direction of their admiral, formed a regular front line, and the Rhodians a second, and stood out to sea in as good order as if they had descry'd the enemy. They had got between Myonesus and Corycus, when they came in sight of them. The royal fleet came up in a long line two and two abreast, and then formed a large front, extending as far to the left as possible, that they might be able to surround the Roman right. When Eudamus from the second line perceived that the Romans were not able to make as wide a front, and that they were already on the point of being surrounded, he came to the front with some Rhodian vessels, which are counted extremely swift, made that equal to the enemies, and opposed Polyxenidas's ship with his own.

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XXIX.

By this means all the vessels on both sides were engaged. The Romans had eighty ships, including the twenty of the Rhodians. The enemy's fleet consisted of eighty nine ships, three of which had six, and two seven benches of oars. The Romans had the superiority over the Syrian in the strength of their vessels and valor of their soldiers, and the Rhodians by the nimbleness of their galleys, experience of their pilots and dexterity of their rowers. But what most terrify'd the enemy were the fires in the Rhodian ships, an invention which had formerly saved them at Panormus, and now contributed greatly to their getting the victory. For not daring to turn their heads to the fire-ships, they turned aside to avoid them: so that they could not strike the enemy, while they received all their strokes on their broadsides: if any of them presented their bow, it was filled with the fire, of

CHAP.
XXX.

CHAP. which they were much more afraid than of the ene-
 xxx. my. But, as usual, the bravery of the Roman sol-
 diers contributed most to the victory. For breaking
 through the center of the Syrians they fetched a com-
 pass and fell upon the rear of those engaged with the
 Rhodians, and immediately the king's ships invested
 both in the center and left wing, were either taken
 or sunk. The right wing still maintained the fight
 more terrify'd with the defeat of their companions,
 than the danger they themselves were in. But seeing
 them entirely surrounded and their admiral's ship fly-
 ing, they crowded all the sail they could, and stood
 away before a fair wind to Ephesus. In this action
 the enemy lost forty two ships, whereof thirteen were
 taken and the rest either burnt or sunk. The Ro-
 mans had two sunk and several shattered. One Rho-
 dian vessel was taken in a very remarkable manner.
 For having run full tilt against a Sidonian vessel, the
 shock shook out her own anchor, which took fast
 hold of the enemy's bow. The Rhodians in great
 perplexity gave over rowing, earnestly desiring to
 disengage themselves, but the cable running foul a-
 mong the oars, swept away all those on one side,
 which weakened her so much, that she fell a prey to
 the vessel she had struck. This was the event of the
 battle of Myonnesus.

CHAP. ANTIOCHUS was entirely confounded with
 xxxi. this defeat, which totally ruined his force at sea.
 Despairing of being able to defend any place in Eu-
 rope, he took a mad step, as the event afterwards
 proved, to recal his garison from Lyfimachia, lest
 it should fall into the enemy's hands. For it was
 not only capable of sustaining the first attacks of the
 Romans, but of holding out a siege during the whole
 winter: By this delay he would have reduced the
 besiegers to the extremest want of provisions; and
 in the mean time he might have found an opportuni-
 ty of coming to an accommodation. After his naval
 defeat, he not only left Lyfimachia free to the enemy,
 but raised the siege of Colophon and retired to Sardis.

From

From thence, solely intent on coming to a decisive action, he sent to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia for auxiliaries, and to every other place from which he could draw forces. CHAP. XXXI.

Æmilius after his victory failed for Ephesus, where he formed his fleet in line of battle before the port: but as the enemy by refusing the challenge confessed him to be sovereign of the sea, he stood away for Chios, whither he was going before the battle. Having there repaired the shattered vessels, he detached Scaurus with thirty ships to transport the army over the Hellespont, and ordered the Rhodians, who had shared in the plunder, and were adorned with the trophies of the late victory, to return home. But the Rhodians outailed Scaurus, and transported the consul's troops, and then returned to Rhodes. The Romans left Chios and sailed to Phocæa. This city is situated on a gulph that runs far in land, is longer than it is broad, and about two miles and an half in circumference; the extreme parts of the city stood on a narrow neck of land in form like a wedge: the natives call it Lamptera^a: near the land it is 1200 paces broad, and runs out a mile, dividing the bay in the middle, and forming two very safe basons with narrow entries to them. That to the right is called Nauſtathmos^b, because it receives a great number of ships. That to the left is called Lamptera, because the light-house stood nearest it.

THE Roman fleet having seized these two safe ports, the prætor thought proper before he raised any works, or attempted to scale the town, to send some persons to sound the inclinations of the magistrates and principal men: but finding them obstinate, he attacked the city on two different quarters at once. There were few houses on one side, and nothing almost to be seen there but the temples of their Gods. He brought his rams up against it first, and began to batter the walls. As all the inhabitants ran to the defence of this side, he battered the other likewise, and made a breach in both. Upon this the Romans

^a A light-house.

^b A road for ships.

CHAP.

XXXII.

attack'd the breaches and attempted to scale the walls at the same time ; but the inhabitants made so vigorous a resistance, that it plainly appeared they relied more on their arms and valor than on the strength of their walls. Accordingly the prætor, affected with the danger of his troops, ordered the trumpets to sound a retreat, not to expose his men rashly to the desperate fury of the enemy. When the Romans were retired, the Phocæans did not go to rest, but with the greatest diligence repaired their breaches. While they were busied in this work Antonius arrived from the prætor, to reprimand them for their obstinacy, and represent to them, ' that the Romans had a greater regard for them than they had for themselves, and would not utterly destroy their city. If they would forego their fury and lay down their arms, they should have the same terms that Livius had formerly granted them.' They took five days to deliberate on these offers. During this interval, they sent deputies to beg aid of Antiochus ; but when they returned and told them he was not in a condition to grant their request, they opened their gates, on condition, that they should not be treated as enemies. But after the Romans entered the town, and the prætor had issued an edict, ordering them to be spared as they had surrendered, the troops raised a terrible clamor. ' It is shameful, cry'd they, that the Phocæans, who never were allies and always inveterate enemies to the Romans, should escape unpunished.' Upon this, as if the prætor had given them the signal, they dispersed to rife the town. Æmilius at first endeavored to stop and bring them back, by remonstrating that it was customary only to rife cities taken by assault, not those that were surrendered ; and that even the fate of the former was at the disposal of generals, not soldiers. But seeing the rage and avarice of the troops prevail over his authority, he sent heralds all over the city to order all the persons of free condition to assemble in the forum, where he granted them all the advantages he had in his power.

He

He restored them their city and territories, and allowed them their own laws. Besides, as winter approached, he chose to winter there with his fleet.

AT the same time the consul, after having crossed CHAP. the country of Ænus and Maronea^a, received advice XXXIII. of the defeat of the king's fleet, and that he had evacuated Lyfimachia. The latter proved much more joyful news to him than the former; for when he soon after arrived at that city, he found it stored with all manner of provisions, as if they had been purposely prepared against the coming of his army; instead of being obstructed by a tedious and fatiguing siege, or being thereby reduced to great want. Here he stay'd several days, waiting the coming up of his baggage and sick; for many who labored under diseases, or had tired with the length of the march, had been left behind in the forts of Thrace. When they were come up, he crossed Chersonesus, and arrived at the Hellespont. As Eumenes had carefully prepared every thing necessary for their passing that river, they did it in good order, without the least obstruction, as if they had been in an ally's country. It animated the Romans extremely to see how freely they had passed, where they expected the greatest obstruction. They staid several days on the banks of the river, detained by a religious scruple. It happened then to be the time of the festival, when the sacred shields were carried in procession, and they did not think it lawful to march on these days. P. Scipio, being one of the priests of Mars, separated from the army that day, and did not come up with his part of it till the festival was over.

DURING this festival Heraclides, a Bysantine, CHAP. arrived in the camp, with terms of peace from Anti- XXXIV. ochus. He conceived greater hopes of effecting it from the long stay of the Romans there, whereas he had expected, that as soon as they landed in Asia, they would have marched with expedition in quest of his master. However he resolved, agreeable to

^a Two cities of Thrace.

CHAP. the king's instructions, to apply to P. Scipio before
 XXXIV. he did to the consul. Besides his greatness of soul,
 he hoped to find him more inclined to peaceable measures, as he had already reaped glory sufficient: all the world knew how humanely he had behaved in his conquests in Spain and Africa; and moreover his son was prisoner with Antiochus. Authors, as in respect to other events, are not agreed about the place, time and manner of this youth's being taken. Some say, he was intercepted by the king's fleet, in his passage from Chalcis to Oreos, in the beginning of the war. Others, that after their arrival in Asia, being sent out with a troop of Fregellani to reconnoitre the king's camp, he was pursued by a party of royal horse in his retreat, and fell from his horse: by this means he and two other troopers were taken and carried to Antiochus. However this is certain, that had a firm peace subsisted between the Romans and Antiochus, and a strict personal friendship between the latter and the two Scipios, he could not have been treated with more generosity or respect than he was. For these reasons the deputy on Scipio's arrival, which he had waited for, went to the consul, and demanded an audience.

CHAP. A COUNCIL of war was called, and his in-
 XXXV. structions were delivered. 'Many embassies, said he,
 ' have passed between us to no purpose. Because former deputies did not succede in their negotiations, I
 ' flatter myself I shall. For the restitution of Smyrna, Lampfacus, Alexandria of Troas, and Lysimachia in Europe, was then insisted on: my master
 ' has already ceded the last, that it might not be
 ' pleaded he possessed any place in Europe, and he
 ' is ready to deliver up these cities that are in Asia;
 ' and whatever places else the Romans would clame
 ' from him: and lastly he will repay the Romans
 ' half the expence of the war.' These were the conditions he proposed. Then he continued: 'Remember, Romans, the vicissitudes of fortune. Use
 ' your success with moderation, and do not push o-
 ' thers

thers to extremities. Bound your conquest with CHAP.
 Europe. Sure it is a field large enough. It is ea- XXXV.
 fier to acquire dominions by piece-meal, than to
 preserve them all together. If they had a mind to
 take any part of Asia from him, let them but pre-
 scribe the limits, and his master, for the sake of
 peace and amity, would suffer his moderation to
 be overcome by their covetousness.' Though the
 embassador thought these great concessions on Anti-
 ochus's side, the Romans thought otherwise. ' Since
 the king, said they, has drawn the war upon him-
 self, it is reasonable he should defray the whole ex-
 pence of it. He ought not only to evacuate Ionia
 and Æolis, but as all Greece was free, he should
 in like manner set all the cities of Asia free. This
 he could do no otherwise than by ceding all that
 part of Asia on this side mount Taurus.'

WHEN the embassador perceived he could ob- CHAP.
 tain no reasonable terms of the council of war, he XXXVI.
 had recourse privately to P. Scipio, according to his
 instructions. He told him in the first place, that the
 king would restore him his son without ransom.
 Then, as he was a stranger to Scipio's temper, and
 the Roman manners, he promised him a great sum
 of money, and to place him on the throne of his
 master, if he would dispense with the title, on con-
 dition he would obtain peace to him. To this Sci-
 pio answered, ' I am less surprized that you are un-
 acquainted with the character of all the Romans in
 general, and of mine, to whom you are particu-
 larly commissioned, when I perceive, that you do
 not understand the circumstances of the prince from
 whom you come. He ought to have kept Lyfi-
 machia to prevent us from entering Chersonesus, or
 opposed our passage over the Hellespont, to keep
 us out of Asia, if he intended to have asked peace
 from us, as if we had been solicitous about the is-
 sue of the war. But now since he did not obstruct
 our entering Asia, since he has not only received a
 ' bridle',

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XXXVI.

‘ bridle^a, but even a yoke, what reasonable ground
 ‘ has he left to dispute the terms of peace, or refuse
 ‘ absolutely to submit to our power? If the king
 ‘ restores my son, I shall look on it as the most ge-
 ‘ nerous favor: I pray the Gods, I may never be
 ‘ reduced to so low an ebb of fortune as to stand in
 ‘ need of his royal munificence; sure my mind never
 ‘ will. He shall always find me grateful if he re-
 ‘ store my son, as far as I can repay a personal obli-
 ‘ gation by personal returns. In my public capacity,
 ‘ I neither will receive or grant any favor. All I
 ‘ can do at present is to give him salutary counsel.
 ‘ Return and tell him, I advise him to avoid a bat-
 ‘ tle, and accept of peace on any terms.’ This
 made no impression on the king; for since he saw
 terms imposed on him as if he had been already van-
 quished, he thought the worst chance of war pre-
 ferable to so dishonorable a peace. Accordingly he
 turned all his projects for peace at that time into seri-
 ous preparations for war.

CHAP.

XXXVII.

THE consul, having made the necessary prepa-
 rations for prosecuting his plan of operations, de-
 camp’d, and advancing first to Dardanus^a, and then
 to Rhæteum^b, both cities met him with their keys.
 From thence he marched to Ilium^c, and encamping
 in the plain under the walls, went up to the citadel
 where he offered sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary
 Goddess of the city. The Ilians shewed them the
 greatest respect both in word and deed, acknowledg-
 ing the Romans were descended from them; and the
 Romans were overjoy’d to see their original country.
 The consul then left this city, and in six days march
 arrived at the head of the river Caycus^d. King Eu-
 menes endeavored at first to carry back his fleet from
 the Hellespont to winter before Elæa, but not being
 able for several days to double cape Lectos by reason

^a Scipio here alludes to the fable
 of the horse, in the second book of
 Aristotle’s rhetoric.

^b Now Dardanella in the lesser Mys-
 sia.

^c Now Peshian in Treas.

^d Vol. i. p. 5. note a.

^e Now Chial, rising on the con-
 fines of the Greater Bbrygia, near
 Pergamos, and falling into the gulph
 opposite to Mitylene.

of contrary winds, he landed, and went the nearest CHAP.
road to the Roman camp with a few soldiers, that xxxvii.
he might be present at their entering upon action.

From thence he went to Pergamos to prepare provisions, and having given them to the consul's purveyors, returned to the camp. When they had dressed provisions for several days, they resolved to go in quest of the enemy, before the winter should surprize them. Antiochus was then encamped at Thyatira. Hearing that Africanus was fallen sick at Elæa, he generously sent deputies thither to restore him his son. This present not only gave Scipio inward satisfaction, but his joy was so great, that it gave a turn to his distemper. After he had satiated himself with embracing his son, he said to the deputies, 'tell the king your master, that I thank him; at present I can make him no other return, except advising him not to hazard a battle till he hears I am come back to the Roman camp.' In pursuance of this advice, Antiochus, though inspired with hopes of victory, by having 70000 foot, and above 12000 horse, yet moved by the authority of so great a man, on whom he solely relied in case he was conquered, repassed the river Phrygius, and encamped by Magnesia^e, near mount Sipylos. And fearing, if he inclined to decline fighting, the Romans might assault him, he dug a trench round his camp six cubits deep, and twelve broad: he guarded it on the outside with a double row of palisades, and on the inside with a rampart and towers at proper distances, to keep the enemy from passing it with ease.

THE consul imagining the king was still at Thy- CHAP.
atira, marched without halting to the plain of Hir- xxxviii.
cania^a. But hearing he had decamped, he followed him close, and halted within four miles of him on the other side of the river Phrygius. Here about 1000 cavalry, mostly Gallo-Greeks, and some Dahans, intermixed with archers of other nations, passed

^e Now *Magnisa*, a city of *Lydia*,
on the confines of *Phrygia Major*.

^a Bounded by the rivers *Hermus*
and *Caycus*.

CHAP. the river precipitately, and attacked the Roman ad-
xxxviii. vanced guards, who were not yet formed, and con-
 sequently were put into disorder. But as the attack continued some time, and the Roman camp was near, they were easily supported, and the king's wearied and overpowered by numbers, endeavored to retire, but were so closely pursued, that many of them were killed on the banks of the river before they could pass it. After this both sides remained quiet for two days without offering to pass. But on the third the whole Roman army passed it together, and encamped within 2500 paces of the enemy. While they were busied in fortifying their camp, 3000 of Antiochus's chosen cavalry attacked them with great fury. Though the advanced guards were not so numerous, and yet none of the rest of the army were called from their work. At first they sustained the charge without any advantage; but when the action grew warmer, they repelled the Syrians, who left 100 dead on the spot, and as many prisoners. On the fourth day both armies stood under arms before their entrenchments. On the fifth the Romans marched in battalia into the middle of the plain. But Antiochus did not move, so that his rear was not 100 foot from his lines.

CHAP. THE consul, seeing he declined fighting, called
xxxix. a council of war next day 'to deliberate on what
 measures he should take, in case he did not give
 him an opportunity of fighting. Winter approach-
 ed, and they would either be obliged to live in
 tents during that severe season, or retire into quar-
 ters, and defer the war till summer.' Never did the Romans condemn an enemy so much as they did these Asiatics. They unanimously cried out to lead them on immediately, and attack them while the troops expressed so great an ardor. For, if the enemy declined fighting, they were ready to pass the fossé, scale the rampart, and enter the camp, as if they were not to engage so many thousand men, but going to butcher an equal number of cattle. Cn.

Domit-

Domitius was sent out to reconnoitre the ground, and discover on what side the enemy's camp was most accessible. Having returned with certain intelligence, it was resolved to approach them next day. On the third they marched into the plain, and begun to draw up in order of battle. Antiochus did not retire, for fear of disheartening his own troops, and augmenting the courage of the enemy, by declining a battle; but led on his army to such a distance as should make it seem he inclined to fight. The Roman army was almost uniform, both in respect of men and arms. They consisted of two Roman legions, and as many of Latin allies. The number of men in each amounted to 5400. The Romans were in the centre, and the Latines on the wings. The hastati were posted in the front, the principes in the second line, and the triarii in the third. Being thus completely marshalled, he posted without them on a parallel line on the right wing 3000 of king Eumenes foot intermixed with Achæan targetiers; without them 3000 horse, 800 of which belonged to the king of Pergamos, and all the rest were Romans; and last of all 500 Trallians and 500 Cretans. The left wing did not seem to want these supports, because it was covered by the steep bank of the river. However, four squadrons of horse were posted there. This was the whole amount of the Romans, except 2000 Macedonian and Thracian volunteers, who were left to guard the camp. They had posted 16 elephants behind the triarii. For besides perceiving that they would not be able to withstand the great multitude the king had, in all 54, they and the African elephants are not a match for the Indian, though equal in number, because they are superior to them in size, strength, and courage.

ANTIOCHUS's army was composed of various nations, differing both in arms and men. He had 16000 foot armed like the Macedonians, and formed into a phalanx. They were posted in the centre, divided into ten separate battalions. In each interval of these divisions were placed two elephants.

CHAP.

XL.

His whole battle from front to rear was 32 rank deep. This was the main strength of his army, and as they made a terrible appearance in other respects, so they did by the elephants appearing far above the soldiers. These animals were of a huge size, besides their plumed crests, the towers of four floors of soldiers on their backs, beside the guide, added greatly to their monstrous appearance. On the right of the phalanx were posted 1500 Gallo-Grecian horse, with 3000 horse barbed and caparisoned, and their riders armed with cuirasses, brassets, and steel cuisses; and next them about 1000 cavalry of the king's household. The latter were Medi^a, all chosen men, and intermixed with many troopers of different people under the same name^b. Close to them in the rear were posted 16 elephants. At a little distance the same wing was enlarged by the king's own cohort, which bore silver shields. In the same line were 1200 Dahans on horseback, armed with bows and arrows. Next them the light armed troops, consisting of 3000 Cretans and Trallians, with 2500 Mysian^c archers. The wing was closed by 4000 Cyrtæan^d and Elymæan^e slingers. Next the phalanx on the left were 1500 Gallo-Grecian horse, and 2000 Cappadocians^f, sent from king Ariarathes^g, and armed in the same manner with the former. Next to these 2700 auxiliaries of different nations, and then 3000 cuirassiers, on barbed horses. Next them 1000 of the household horse more lightly accoutred, but dressed in the same manner. They were mostly Syrians mixed with Phrygians and Lydians. Before the cavalry were the dromedaries and

^a A country of *Greater Asia*, beyond the *Tigris*. It had *Armenia Major* to the west, *Parthia* and *Hyrcania* to the east, *Susa* to the south, and the *Caspian Sea* to the north.

^b Several provinces beyond the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, were subject to them, and bore their name.

^c A province of the *Lesser Asia*.

^d On the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, near mounts *Zagrus* and

Niphates.

^e *Elymais*, on the west of *Susa* in *Persia*, between the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*.

^f Now *Amasia*, extending from mount *Taurus* to the *Euxine Sea*. It has *Galatia* to the west, and the *Lesser Armenia* on the east.

^g The fifth from *Pharnaces* the first king.

chariots armed with scythes. Upon these animals were mounted the Arabian archers, armed with small swords four cubits long, that they might reach the enemy from the backs of those animals. Next them another vast body equal to that on the right, first Tarantines^a, then 2500 Gallo-Grecian horse, 1000 Neocretans^b, 1500 Carians and Cilicians armed in the same manner, an equal number of Trallians, 3000 targetiers from Pisidia, Pamphylia and Lycia, as many Cyrtæans and Elymæans as were on the right wing, and last of all, at a little distance, 16 elephants.

THE king in person commanded the right wing, and his son Seleucus and nephew Antipater the left; Minio and Zeuxides the center, in conjunction with one Philip master of the elephants. A fog rose in the morning, which as the day advanced ascended into clouds and occasioned a great darkness. At last by a breeze from the south it fell down in small rain. This did not incommode the Romans, but proved extremely prejudicial to the king's army. As the consular army took up but little ground, the thick fog did not intercept the sight of every part of it, and the wet did not blunt the swords or javelins as they were heavy. But in so large an army as the king's, it was not possible from the center to see the wings, much less to see from one extremity to the other, and the rain slacken'd the strings of the darts, bows and slings. The arm'd chariots, likewise, with which Antiochus thought to break the enemy, turned against his own troops. From the midst of the poles projected ten pointed halberts about a cubit long, intended to pierce whatever came before it. On each side of the seat were two scythes, the one level with it and the other turned towards the ground, the first to cut obliquely, the second those who should have slain, or should endeavor to creep under. At each end of the axletrees two more were fasten'd in the same situation, and for the same purposes, Antiochus, per-

^a They led each a fresh horse.

^b Cretans, but recruits.

CHAP.ceiving that if he had placed these armed chariots in
 the last or second line, they must have been driven
 through his troops, posted them in the front, as we
 have observed already. Eumenes, who was acquainted
 with their manner of fighting, and how doubtful a
 help they were, if care was taken to fright the horses,
 rather than attack them close, ordered the Cretan
 archers and slingers, with the cavalry armed with ja-
 velins, not to go in a body against them, but divided
 into small platoons, and pour darts upon them from
 all sides. The horses being severely gall'd by showers
 of missiles from all sides, and terrify'd by the horrid
 and dissonant cries, ran away in disorder without
 feeling the bridle. The light troops, slingers and
 nimble Cretans easily avoided their shock. The horse
 pursued them close and increased the confusion among
 the Asiatic cavalry and dromedaries who had been
 frightened at the same time, and the confusion was
 greatly augmented by the cries of the multitude that
 surrounded them. Thus were the chariots, these empty
 bugbears, driven out between the two armies, which
 immediately gave the signal and came to blows.

CHAP. BUT however empty an aid they were in them-
 selves, they occasioned the defeat of the king's whole
 army. For the troops that were posted to support
 them being terrify'd at the confusion and consterna-
 tion they were in, fled and left all naked and defence-
 less as far as the cuirassiers with barbed horses. Even
 they, when those that covered them were dispersed,
 and the Romans attacked them, could not sustain
 the charge, but either fled or were slain, because the
 weight of their arms would not suffer them to escape
 by flight. Then the whole left wing gave way, and
 the auxiliaries posted between the horse and the pha-
 lanx, being put into disorder, carry'd the consterna-
 tion as far as the center. As the ranks of the Pha-
 lanx were broke, and their own men in the rout
 falling in amongst them hindered them from wielding
 their pikes, the Roman legions advanced, and show-
 ered their javelins upon them from all sides. The
 elephants

elephants disposed in the intervals did not even terrify the Romans. The African wars had made this kind of combat easy to them: they could evade their impetuosity, either by piercing their flanks with their javelins, or, if they could approach them, by cutting their hams with their swords. By this time the front ranks of the phalanx were routed, and the Romans had fallen on its rear, which had been surrounded, when they were informed, that their own left had been repulsed so far, that their fearful cries almost reached the camp. For when Antiochus perceived from his own right, that the Roman left, relying on the river as a sufficient defence, was only supported by four troops of horse, and even these left its banks to join the rest of the army, he attacked it with his auxiliaries and cuirassiers. He not only pushed them in front, but filing off along the river took them in flank. The horse taking to flight first, and then the foot, he drove them in precipitation to their camp.

A LEGIONARY tribune, M Æmilius, son of Lepidus, who a few years after was chosen pontifex maximus, commanded the camp. When he saw the Romans flying thither, he went out to meet them with all his troops, and reproaching them with their shameful flight, ordered them first to stand and then to return to the battle. Nay he with menaces told them they would rush blindfold on certain death, if they did not obey. For at last he ordered his troops to kill the foremost of the fugitives. ‘Let the dread of wounds and death,’ said he, ‘terrify those that follow, and make them face about against the enemy.’ The greater dread with them surmounted the less. Being in danger on all sides they first stop’d, and then returned to the battle. Æmilius with his guard for the camp, which amounted to about 2000 brave men, opposed the king who vigorously pursued the fugitives. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, who had routed the enemy’s left at the first charge, perceiving the disorder of the Roman left round the camp, arrived seasonably with 200 horse. When Antiochus saw, that

CHAP. XLIII. those he pursued faced about, and supports poured in both from the camp and battle, he retired with precipitation. The Romans thus victorious on both wings, went to rifle the camp over heaps of dead bodies, especially in the center, where they had been opposed by the bravest troops, and whose flight had been impeded by the weight of their arms. Eumenes's horse first, and afterwards those of the consul, pursued the enemy over all the plain, and cut to pieces every one they met. But what proved most pernicious to the flying troops, was being mingled with the chariots, elephants and dromedaries; for without any order they rushed one upon another, and were trod to death by these animals. Besides a greater slaughter was made in the camp than in the battle. For those that fled first had taken refuge there, and made a more obstinate resistance, relying on the support of the great body that had been left to guard it. Accordingly the Romans, who expected to have taken it on the first assault, enraged at being stop'd so long at the gates, made a greater slaughter than otherwise they would have done.

CHAP. XLIV. THE king lost in that battle 50000 foot and 4000 horse. Only 1400 of his men were taken prisoners, with 15 elephants and their guides. Many of the Romans were wounded; but they left only 300 foot and 24 horse on the spot. Eumenes lost only 25 troopers. The conquerors spent the rest of the day in rifling the camp, and then returned to their own loaded with booty. Next day they stript the dead and assembled the prisoners. Thyatira and Magnesia near Sipylos sent deputies to surrender their keys. Antiochus fled with a small train, but picking up many on the road, arrived about midnight at Sardis^a with a small army. Hearing that Seleucus his son with several lords of his court were gone to Apamæa^b, he set out for that city about the fourth

^a Now *Sardia*, between the *Meander* and the *Hermus* near mount *Tmolus*.

^b Formerly *Cibotos*, now *Apamis*, stood near where the *Marsyas* runs into the *Meander*.

watch with his queen and children, having made Zeno governor of the city and Timon of Lydia. But the inhabitants, despising them and their garisons, sent deputies to the consul.

ABOUT the same time arrived deputies from Trallia^a, Magnesia^b on the Meander and Ephesus, to surrender these cities. Polyxenidas had quitted the latter on the news of the defeat, and sailed as far as Patara of Lycia. But for fear of the Rhodian fleet, which lay at Megiste, he landed and went by land to Syria. All the cities of Asia Minor submitted to the consul, who was now at Sardis. Thither P. Scipio came from Elæa, as soon as he could endure the fatigue of a journey. About the same time a trumpet arrived from Antiochus to the consul, who, prevailed upon by Africanus, gave the king permission to send deputies to him. Within a few days, Zeuxis, governor of Lydia, and Antipater his nephew arrived in that quality. They apply'd first to Eumenes, but finding him averse to peace on account of the ancient quarrels between him and the king, they had recourse to Africanus, who introduced them to the consul, who assembled his whole council to hear their instructions. Then Zeuxis said, ' Illustrious consul, our commission is not to propose terms of accommodation, but to be informed by you, by what means the king may expiate his fault, and obtain peace and pardon from his conquerors. With a peculiar greatness of mind you have always forgiven the kings and nations you have vanquished. How much more ought you to display that generous magnanimity after a victory, which has rendered you lords of the universe? Laying aside all contention with mortals, your principal care should now be to imitate the Gods in sparing and consulting the interests of mankind.' The answer had been prepared before the arrival of the ambassadors. Africanus was appointed to make it, and he expressed himself thus. ' Of things in the power

CHAP.

XLV.

^a Now *Gboro* in *Lydia*.

^b Now *Mangresia* in *Caria*.

CHAP. of the immortal Gods, we possess what they have
 XLV. thought proper to bestow upon us. Our courage,
 which depends on our own minds, has been the
 same in all fortunes: Adversity has not been able
 to depress it, nor prosperity to elevate and exalt
 it. I might appeal to Hannibal for the truth of
 this, if you did not know it by your own experi-
 ence. As soon as we had crossed the Hellespont,
 before we saw the king's camp, whilst the event
 of war was still uncertain, when you came to treat
 with us of peace, we insisted, when things were
 equal on both sides, on the same conditions, which
 we shall now propose, when you are vanquished
 and we victorious. You shall quit all pretensions
 to Europe, and cede all Asia on this side of mount
 Taurus: pay us 15000 talents of Eubœa^a for the
 expences of the war, 500 down, 2500 when the
 Roman senate and people shall ratify the treaty,
 and 1000 annually for twelve years: beside 400
 to Eumenes, and the corn that was due to his fa-
 ther. When these conditions are agreed to, that
 we may have a sure pledge that you will execute
 them, you shall give us twenty hostages, such as
 we shall chuse. But as we can never be sure of
 peace where Hannibal is, we, above all, insist
 upon his being delivered up to us, with Thoas the
 Ætolian, the author of the Ætolian war, and re-
 lying on whom, you took up arms against us:
 With them also Mnasilochus the Acarnanian, Philo
 and Eubulidas, both Chalcidians. The king, by
 delaying to make peace while he has it in his power,
 will make it when his fortune is worse. If he he-
 sitates, let him reflect, that it is more difficult to
 reduce a king from the summit of power to a mid-
 dle fortune, than to precipitate him from that to the
 lowest. The ambassadors had orders from the king
 to refuse no terms, so it was resolved to send envoys
 to Rome. The consul canton'd his troops in winter
 quarters at Magnesia on the Meander, Trallia and
 Ephesus. A few days after the king's hostages, and

the embassadors that were to go to Rome, arrived at the latter where the consul was. They were followed by deputies from all the states of Asia.

DURING these transactions in Asia, two pro-CHAP. consuls who hoped for a triumph arrived at Rome XLVI. much about the same time, Q. Minucius from Liguria and M. Acilius from Ætolia. After the senate had heard the detail of both their exploits, they refused Minucius a triumph, but with great unanimity granted one to Acilius, and accordingly he triumphed for Antiochus and the Ætolians. There were carried in the procession 230 standards, 3000 pound weight of silver in bars, 113000 Attic tetradrachmæ^a, 248000 cistophori^b, and a vast quantity of silver vases: all the silver plate, fine furniture and rich clothes of the king of Syria; 45 crowns of gold, which were presents made him by the states in confederacy with the Romans; spoils of all kinds, 36 prisoners of distinction, either Ætolian lords, or Syrian generals. Damocritus the Ætolian general had made his escape a few days before out of prison in the night, and being closely pursued, run himself through with his sword on the banks of the Tiber, to avoid being taken. There was no army to follow in the procession, otherwise in all other respects it was exceeding pompous both on account of his exploits and the magnificent spoils he carried. However the joy occasioned by this shew was considerably damp'd by bad news from Spain. The pro-consul L. Æmilius had been defeated by the Lusitanians near Lycon^c in the country of the Vaccetani^d, and lost 6000 men. He marched back the rest trembling to their lines, which they defended with difficulty, and then abandoned, retiring by forced marches into an ally's country. Such was the news from Spain. The prætor Aurunculeius introduced into the senate deputies from the colonies of

^a It was worth four Attic drachmæ, about forty French *sols*.

^b So called from being stamp'd on one side with the mysterious chests carried in the orgies of *Bacchus*, and

was in value about five French *sols*.

^c On the west of *Merida* near *Lobon*, a city of *Estremadura*.

^d They took their name from the river *Vouga* in *Portugal*.

CHAP. XLVI. Placentia and Cremona. They complained of the want of people, many having been swept away by defeats and by diseases, beside great numbers who, weary of living so near the Gauls, had abandoned them. Then the senate passed a decree, ' that the consul Lælius, if he thought proper, should levy 6000 families to be sent to those colonies ; and that Aurrunculeius the prætor should appoint three commissioners to lead them thither.'

CHAP. XLVII. THE three commissioners appointed for this purpose, were M. Atilius Serranus, L. Valerius Flaccus son of Publius, and L. Valerius Tappus son of Caius. As the consular elections were drawing on, the consul Lælius soon after returned from Gaul to Rome. He not only levy'd the supplies for Placentia and Cremona, agreeable to the act of senate made in his absence, but moved the senate to send two new colonies into the territory taken from the Boii, and the fathers agreed to it. At the same time the prætor Æmilius wrote home the accounts of his naval victory at Myonnesus, and that the consul Scipio had invaded Asia. Supplications were appointed for one day on account of the victory ; and the same for another to implore that the Roman army's first entering Asia might prove fortunate to the state. At each of these supplications the consul was ordered to sacrifice twenty large cattle. Then the consular elections came on with great contention. One of the candidates, M. Æmilius Lepidus, was ill spoken of, for leaving his province Sicily without asking leave from the senate, that he might make interest for the consulship. The other candidates were M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Vulso and M. Valerius Messala. Fulvius was nominated alone, because the rest had not a competent number of suffrages. The next day Fulvius rejected Lepidus his suit, for Messala had dropt his claim, and nominated Vulso to be his colleague. Then the prætors were chosen, the two Q. Fabii, Labeo and Pictor (the latter had been inaugurated priest of Romulus that year) M. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sp. Posthumius Albinus, L. Plautius Hypsæus and L. Bæbius Dives. IN

IN the beginning of the consulate of M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso, it was currently reported at Rome and believed for truth, according to Valerius Antias, that the consul Scipio and Africanus, having been invited to a conference with Antiochus about ransoming Africanus's son, had been seized, and the king had immediately marched to attack the Roman army, and cut it all to pieces. This had encouraged the Ætolians to refuse fulfilling their engagements, and their chief men were gone into Macedon, Dardanium and Thrace to hire auxiliaries: and that the pro-prætor of Ætolia, A. Cornelius, had sent A. Terentius Varro and M. Claudius Lepidus with this news to Rome. To confirm this groundless account, when the Ætolian deputies among other questions were asked by the senate, how they came by the intelligence, that the Roman generals were taken prisoners and the army cut to pieces by Antiochus, they answered, it had been sent them from their envoys, who were with the consul. But as no other author mentions this report, I will not take upon me to affirm it as truth, neither did I think it ought to be passed over in silence, as mere fable.

CHAP.
XLVIII.
M. Fulvius
Nobilior and
Cn. Manlius
Vulso, con-
suls.
Y. of R. 563.
B. J. C. 189.

THEN the Ætolian ambassadors were introduced. Though both their cause and circumstances required, that, by confessing what was either a real fault or error in their conduct, they should have addressed the senate for pardon, in the manner of suppliants; yet they begun with an enumeration of their services to the Roman people, and talked of their valor in the war with Philip in so high a strain, that their insolence offended the fathers. Besides by repeating what had long lain in oblivion, they revived in the minds of the senate the remembrance of more crimes committed by their nation than overbalanced their services; and by this means instead of raising that compassion which they stood in need of, they created in the fathers an inveterate aversion towards them. One of the senators asked them, whether they would surrender at discretion? and then another,

CHAP.
XLIX.

CHAP. XLIX. whether they would look on them as friends and foes, whom the Romans reckoned such? To which not returning any answer, they were ordered to quit the house. Then the whole senate cry'd out, 'The Ætolians are yet entirely in the interest of Antiochus, and their sole dependance is on him. Therefore let us make war on these declared enemies of our state, let us humble their haughty hearts.' What increased the resentment against them was, that at the very time they were asking peace of the Romans their arms were employ'd against Dolopia^a and Athamania. With regard to them the senate passed the following decree, agreeable to the opinion of Acilius, who had conquered them and Antiochus: 'that they should be ordered to leave the city that very day, and Italy within a fortnight.' A. Terentius Varro was sent to escort them on their way, and the senate expressly added, 'that if any envoys from Ætolia came to Rome hereafter, without the permission of the Roman commander in that country, and a Roman deputy along with them, they should be treated as enemies.' In this manner were the Ætolians dismissed.

CHAP. L. THEN the consuls brought in a bill to the senate for the allotment of the provinces, and the senate ordered them to draw lots for Ætolia and Asia. He, to whom Asia should fall, should prosecute the war against Antiochus at the head of the army then commanded by L. Scipio, and to recruit it should have 4000 Roman foot and 200 horse, with 8000 Latin infantry and 400 cavalry. The other consul had the army then in Ætolia, and to recruit it had permission to levy the same number of Romans and allies. The same consul also was ordered to fit out the ships built the former year, and carry them with him; for he was not to confine the war to Ætolia, but to make a descent on the island Cephallenia^b. He was

^a On the confines of Epirus and Thessaly. ^b *Cynthus* to the south and the coast of Epirus to the north.

^c In the Ionian sea, between Za-

likewise instructed, if it was not detrimental to the public interest, to return to Rome to preside at the elections: for besides the magistrates annually chosen, they resolved to chuse cenfors the ensuing year. If he should be necessarily detained, he was to inform the senate that he could not be present at the elections. Fulvius got Ætolia and Manlius Asia by lot. Then the prætors drew lots. Albinus got the jurisdiction of the city and foreigners; Tuditanus, Sicily; Pictor, Sardinia; Labeo, the fleet; Hypsæus, Hither Spain, and Dives, the Further. One legion with the fleet then in Sicily was allotted for that province. The prætor was ordered to impose a tax of two tenths of the corn, one of which he should send to the army in Asia, and the other to that in Ætolia. The same was decreed with respect to Sardinia. L. Bæbius had 1000 Roman foot and 50 horse, with 6000 Latin infantry and 200 cavalry, to reinforce the army in his province. Hypsæus had 1000 Roman foot, with 2000 Latin foot, and 200 horse for Hither Spain. By these supplies, each Spain had one legion apiece. Of the magistrates of the former year, Lælius was continued at the head of his army another year; as Junius was in Hetruria, and Tuccius in Bruttium and Apulia.

BEFORE the prætors set out for their provinces, P. Licinius the pontifex maximus and F. Pictor priest of Jupiter had a contest of the same nature with that, which had happened before between L. Metellus and Posthumius Albinus. As the latter, when consul with C. Lutatius, was setting out for Sicily, Metellus detained him for the celebration of certain sacrifices. In like manner, when Pictor was now going to Sardinia, Licinius stopt him. The contest was managed with great warmth both in the senate and assemblies of the people. Inhibitions were served on both sides, securities taken, fines imposed, the aid of the tribunes called, and appeals made to the people. In fine, a regard for religion prevailed, and the priest was ordered to submit to the pontifex maximus,

CHAP. maximus, and by an express ordinance of the people
 LI. the fines were remitted on both sides. Thus the
 prætor was deprived of his province, and would
 have demitted his magistracy; but the fathers rigo-
 rously interposed their authority, and appointed him
 the jurisdiction over foreigners. As very few soldiers
 were wanted, the levies were completed in a few
 days, and the consuls and prætors set out for their
 provinces. After this a report of the affairs in Asia
 was blazed abroad, but without an author; however
 within a few days certain intelligence with letters from
 the general arrived. These dispel'd their late fears
 (for they were no longer afraid of Ætolia, which they
 had already conquered) and suppressed all the reports
 about Antiochus, the war with whom had been at first
 represented as terrible, both on account of his power-
 ful armies, and of Hannibal being his director in all
 the steps he took. However they did not think pro-
 per to countermand the consul's going into Asia, or
 make any alteration with regard to his army, for fear
 they should have war with the Asiatic Gauls.

CHAP. NOT long after M. Aurelius Cotta, a messenger
 LII. whom L. Scipio had sent with Antiochus's deputies,
 king Eumenes and the Rhodians arrived at Rome.
 Cotta first imparted what had happened in Asia to
 the senate, and then by their order to the people.
 Upon this supplications were appointed for three
 days, and forty large victims to be sacrificed. King
 Eumenes had audience first. He in very few words
 returned his compliments of thanks to the fathers,
 for having relieved him and his brother when besieged,
 and delivered their dominions from the oppressive
 hostilities of Antiochus: then he congratulated them
 on their success by sea and land, that they had routed,
 put to flight and stript the Syrian of his camp, driv-
 ing him first out of Europe, and then out of all Asia
 on this side mount Taurus. Then he added, as to
 his own services, he chose rather they should hear
 them from their own generals and messengers than
 from himself. They unanimously praised his modesty,
 but

but beg'd him to lay it aside, and frankly say, what recompence he thought the Roman senate and people should make him; for they were disposed liberally and magnificently to reward his merit to the utmost of their power. To this he replied: 'Had any others given me the option of reward, I should gladly have embraced the opportunity of consulting the Roman senate, and follow'd the advice of this august assembly, that I might have avoided the imputation of being either immoderate or overmodest in my desires. Since then it is you who are to bestow the reward on me and my brother, it becomes me to leave it entirely to your generosity.'

CHAP.

LII.

This speech made no impression on the fathers; they still urged him to speak his mind without ceremony. After this mutual and inexplicable contest of civility had lasted some time between the courteous fathers and modest king, with reciprocal ceremony, the latter withdrew. Neither did this move the senators. 'It is absurd, said they, to imagine the king ignorant of what he hopes and came to ask. He knows best what is most convenient for his own dominions, as he is better acquainted with Asia than we. Let him be called in again, and laid under a necessity to be explicit in his desires.'

THE prætor introduced him a second time, and being desired to speak his sentiments, he thus began.

CHAP.

LIII.

'I should still have persisted in my silence, conscript fathers, if I did not know, that the Rhodian deputies are presently to be called in, and that when they have been heard, I shall be under a necessity of speaking. I find it more difficult to speak now, because their demands will seem not only not prejudicial to me, but even to have no view to their own interest. They will plead the cause of all the states of Greece, and endeavour to shew that they ought all to be set at liberty. It is evident, if they gain this point, that they will not only alienate from us the states that shall be set free, but even those that have long been our tributaries. But, having

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LIII.

having obliged them by so great a benefit, they
 themselves will, under the name of allies, hold
 them in real subjection. And yet, forsooth, in
 aspiring to this domination, they will disclame all
 views to their own interest, and alledge, that their
 demands are becoming your dignity and agreeable
 to your constant practice. But you will take care
 not to be imposed upon by their speech: Be not
 deceived into the injustice of depressing too much
 some of your allies, and exalting others beyond
 measure; nay even of putting those who have born
 arms against you in a better condition than your
 friends and confederates. For my own part, in
 other respects I should gladly chuse to be thought
 to have yielded somewhat of my right, rather than
 to have shewn too great obstinacy in maintaining
 it: but where the contest is about your friendship,
 about affection to you, and honors to be confer'd
 by you, I cannot patiently bear being out-done.
 Attachment to you was the best inheritance my fa-
 ther bequeathed me. He was the first sovereign
 in Greece or Asia that entered into an alliance with
 you, and observed it with constancy and fidelity
 to his last moments. He was not only your faith-
 ful and sincere friend at heart, but testify'd it by
 actions. He was present in all your battles by sea
 and land, while you war'd in Greece; he furnished
 you with provisions, so that none of your allies in
 any respect could rival him. At last, while he
 was in a pathetic speech exhorting the Boeotians to
 make an alliance with you, he was seized with an
 apoplectic fit, and soon after expired. I have trod
 in his steps. Indeed, I could not express a greater
 inclination and zeal to serve and honor you, for
 in these he could not be outdone: but fortune, the
 times and the war with the Syrian in Asia, have
 put it my power to surpass him in actions, in me-
 ritorious and chargeable acts of kindness. Antio-
 chus, king of Asia and part of Europe, offered me
 his daughter in marriage, immediately to restore

all

all the cities that had revolted from me, and flatter'd me with the hopes of greatly enlarging my dominions afterwards, if I would join him in the war against you. I will not glory in having done nothing to offend you. Let me rather lay before you things that are worthy the friendship that has so long subsisted between you and our family. I assisted your generals with forces both by sea and land, and supply'd them with provisions, in such a manner as none of your allies can compare with me. I was present in your battles by sea in different places, and spared neither labor nor danger. I suffered a siege, the most dreadful calamity in war; I was shut up in Pergamos, and run the greatest hazard of losing both life and dominions. When the siege was raised, though Antiochus was encamp'd on one side of my capital and Seleucus on the other, I left my own affairs and sailed with my whole fleet to assist your consul Scipio in passing the Hellespont. After your army entered Asia, I never left your consul. No Roman soldier was more assiduously employ'd in the camp, than I and my brothers. No expedition was made, nor did the cavalry ever engage, without me. I took whatever post in battle the consul was pleased to assign me, and maintained it with bravery. Conscript fathers, I may even ask who has done you equal service with me in this war? I dare compare myself with any of the people or kings, whom you greatly honor. Masinissa was your enemy before he became your ally: he did not assist you when in full possession of his dominions; but when driven from his throne, when an exile, and after having lost all his army, he took refuge in your camp with a single troop of horse. Yet because he adhered to you with fidelity and vigor against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only restored him to his paternal kingdom, but by adding to it the most wealthy part of Syphax's dominions, made him the most powerful king of all Africa. What reward,

what

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LIII.



‘ what honors do we then deserve from you, since
 ‘ we never were your enemies, and always were
 ‘ your allies? My father, I myself, my brothers
 ‘ have fought in your cause, not only in Asia, but
 ‘ far from our own country, in Peloponnesus, in
 ‘ Bœotia, in Ætolia, against Philip, Antiochus, and
 ‘ the Ætolians. But you ask me, what it is I re-
 ‘ quest? Since, in obedience to you, conscript fa-
 ‘ thers, I must speak, let me observe, that if you
 ‘ have confined the Syrian within mount Taurus, in
 ‘ the view of keeping for yourselves the country from
 ‘ which you have driven him, there is no nation
 ‘ whose neighborhood I should desire more, or think
 ‘ a greater bulwark and security to my kingdom.
 ‘ But if you intend to relinquish that country, and
 ‘ withdraw your armies from it, I may venture to
 ‘ say, that none of your allies is more worthy to pos-
 ‘ sess what conquest gives you a right to dispose of,
 ‘ than myself. But it is a glorious action to free ci-
 ‘ ties from slavery. I grant it is so, if they have
 ‘ committed no hostilities against you. But if they
 ‘ sided with Antiochus, how much more becoming
 ‘ your prudence and equity is it to consult the interest
 ‘ of deserving allies, rather than of your enemies?’

CHAP.

LIV.



THE fathers were charmed with the king's speech,
 and it was very visible that they would reward him
 amply. As some of the Rhodians were not in the
 way, audience was given to a brief message from the
 people of Smyrna. They had the thanks of the
 house, for having chose to suffer the last extremities,
 rather than surrender to the Syrian. Then the Rho-
 dians were introduced. Their chief began with men-
 tioning the first occasion of their friendship with the
 Roman people, and the services they had done them
 in their wars with Philip and Antiochus. Then he
 added, ‘ In our present business, conscript fathers,
 ‘ nothing gives us greater concern, or embarrasses us
 ‘ more, than that we are to enter into a contest with
 ‘ Eumenes, the only prince to whom we are united
 ‘ by the sacred ties of hospitality, not only each of

us as private persons, but, which has the greater weight with us, as a state. Illustrious fathers, it is not so much want of affection, as the nature of things, which is unalterably prevalent, that occasions the difference between us. We are republicans, and therefore plead for the liberty of other states; kings desire to hold every thing in servile obedience and subjection to their government. However such is the case, that our respect for the king embarrasses us more, than our cause is difficult for us to maintain, or you to determine. For if you could not honor and reward this prince, your friend and ally, and who deserves so well of you, even for his services in the present war, except by subjecting free states to his domination, the matter might admit of doubt and deliberation, whether you should suffer him to go without a reward, or depart from your own institution, and tarnish the glory you acquired in the Macedonian war, by enslaving so many free states. But fortune has taken care not to reduce you to the necessity of impairing either your credit with your friends, or your glory. By the bounty of the Gods your victory is as rich as it is glorious; and, so to speak, sufficiently enables you to discharge your debts of every kind. You are in possession of Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, Chersonesus, and adjacent cities in Europe. Any one of these will be a vast accession to Eumenes's dominions; all of them will equal him to the greatest kings. Thus you have it in your power sufficiently to reward and enrich your allies, without deviating from your first design. Remember what title you pretended first in the war against Philip, and lately against Antiochus; that you did after you vanquished Philip, that is now asked and expected of you, not because you set the precedent, but because it is becoming your dignity to do so. The motives of war are very different in different persons, some honorable and just, and others specious. Others enter into it, either

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to

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to become masters of lands, villages, towns, ports,
 or maritime coasts. You coveted neither before
 you had them, and cannot now when you are so-
 vereigns of the universe. You have war'd for dig-
 nity and glory in sight of all the world; which
 has long regarded your name and empire as much
 as that of the Gods. I know not whether those
 things which are purchased and acquired with great
 difficulty, do not require as much to maintain them.
 You undertook to free from regal slavery an anci-
 ent and illustrious nation, distinguished for her ex-
 ploits, and praised for her cultivation of the liberal
 arts and sciences. As you once received this whole
 people under your protection, it becomes your dig-
 nity to defend them for ever. These are not Greek
 cities, which stand on the ancient soil of Greece,
 more than her colonies, which were formerly trans-
 planted thence into Asia. The change of climate
 has made no alteration in their genius or manners.
 We, who have been settled in Asia, dare with du-
 tiful regard pretend to rival those from whom we
 are originally descended in every liberal art and
 commendable virtue. Many of you have visited
 Greece, and likewise the Asiatic states. We yield
 to the former in nothing else but remoteness from
 you. The people of Marseilles, being surrounded
 by so many barbarous nations, had by this time
 become quite savage, if a climate could have
 changed a national temper and genius; and yet
 we hear they are held in as honorable estimation
 by you on account of their merit, as if they lived
 in the heart of Greece. They not only retain the
 language, habit and appearance of their original
 country, but above all their manners, laws and ge-
 nius pure and untainted with the contagion of their
 neighbors. Well, mount Taurus is now the limit
 of your empire; nothing then that lyes within that
 barrier ought to be looked on as remote from you.
 Your jurisdiction extends to every place to which
 your arms have penetrated. Let barbarians, to
 whom

‘ whom a master’s will has always been a law, have
 ‘ kings in whom they delight. The Greeks have
 ‘ not now the same fortune, but still the same spirit. For-
 ‘ merly they extended their empire by their own
 ‘ forces; now they pray that universal empire may
 ‘ continue for ever with them who now enjoy it,
 ‘ and, since they cannot defend liberty with their
 ‘ own arms, are content you do it by yours. It may
 ‘ indeed be said that several of those states declared
 ‘ for Antiochus. Did not some before join Philip?
 ‘ did not the Tarentines declare for Pyrrhus? But,
 ‘ not to mention other nations, is not Carthage free
 ‘ in the enjoyment of her own laws? Consider,
 ‘ conscript fathers, the precedent you have set to
 ‘ yourselves. Have resolution to refuse to Eumenes’s
 ‘ boundless ambition, what you denied to your own
 ‘ just revenge. We leave to yourselves to form a
 ‘ judgment of the merit of our hearty and faithful
 ‘ services, both in the present and other wars you car-
 ‘ ried on on that coast. In peace we offer you an
 ‘ advice, which if you pursue, the whole world will
 ‘ think the use you make of your victory more glo-
 ‘ rious than the victory itself.’

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THIS speech seemed suitable to the Roman mag-
 nanimity. After the Rhodians had been heard, the
 senate gave audience to the Syrian ambassadors.
 They, like suppliants begging pardon, confessed the
 king’s error, and conjured the conscript fathers, ‘ to
 ‘ have more regard to their own clemency than to
 ‘ the king’s fault, which had been severely punish-
 ‘ ed; and to ratify the articles which L. Scipio had
 ‘ granted him.’ The senate approved the peace,
 as did the people a few days after. It was solemnly
 concluded in the capitol with Antipater, chief of the
 embassy, and nephew to Antiochus. Then the peti-
 tions of other states of Asia were heard. They were
 answered in general, ‘ That the senate, agreeable to
 ‘ the practice of their ancestors, would send ten
 ‘ commissioners to hear and accommodate all dis-
 ‘ putes in Asia. But the principal article of all should

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be, That all the dominions on this side mount Taurus, that had been subject to the Syrian, should be given to Eumenes, except Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Meander, which should be annexed to the Rhodian territories. As to the other states of Asia, those which had been tributary to Attalus, should be so to Eumenes, and those that had paid tribute to Antiochus, should be free. The ten commissioners appointed for this purpose were Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius Purpureo, Q. Minucius Thermus, Ap. Claudius Nero, Cn. Cornelius Merula, M. Junius Brutus, L. Arunculeius, L. Æmilius Paullus, P. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Ælius Tubero.

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THESE commissioners had full power from the senate to determine whatever disputes should come before them on the spot. But in the principal points they were restricted. They were ordered to assign to Eumenes all Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, Mysia, the king's forests, the cities of Lydia and Ionia, except those that had been free when the battle was fought with Antiochus, Magnesia near mount Sipylus, Caria Hydrela, and all the Hydrelan territory bordering on Phrygia, castles, villages and towns on the river Meander, except those that had been free before the war, and Telmessus with it's fort, except what part of it had been subject to Ptolemy. To the Rhodians Lycia, except Telmessus, it's fort, and what had been subject to Ptolemy, which was reserved both from them and Eumenes. They had also that part of Caria adjacent to Rhodes beyond the Meander, with the towns, villages, castles and territories lying towards Pisidia, except such towns of it as had been free the day before the last battle fought with Antiochus in Asia. When the Rhodians thanked the senate for these donations, they petitioned for the city of Soli^a, in Cilicia. The Solians, said they, and we are both descended from Argos. On ac-

^a On the sea-coast, and now called *Pale Soli*.

count of; this relation there has always subsisted a CHAP. kind of brotherly affection between us. We ask this kind of brotherly affection between us. We ask this extraordinary favor, with the sole view of freeing that city from regal domination. Upon this the Syrian ambassadors were called to hear what they had to say concerning the petition. It was not granted, for Antipater appealed to the treaty already concluded, in which no alteration could be made, alledging that the Rhodians extended their aims farther than Soli, even to all Cilicia, and wanted to pass mount Taurus. Then the Rhodian envoys were brought in, and the fathers informed them of the strenuous opposition of the Syrian deputies, adding, 'that if they really thought the matter concerned the honor of their state, the fathers would use all means in their power to make the obstinate Syrians relent.' Upon this the Rhodians paid their compliments of thanks in a more hearty strain than before, saying they would rather give way to the arrogance of Antipater, than give occasion to disturb the peace. Thus, no alteration was made with respect to Soli.

ABOUT the same time ambassadors arrived CHAP. from Marseilles, who informed the senate, that the LVII. prætor L. Bæbius, on his road to his province in Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians, who had killed a great part of his retinue, while he himself had escaped without hurtors grievously wounded to Marseilles, where he died the third day after. Upon this news the senate passed a decree, that P. Junius Brutus, pro-prætor of Hetruria, should deliver up his own province and army to whomever of his lieutenants he pleased, and go to Hither Spain to take on him the government of that province. The city prætor, Sp. Posthumius, sent the senate's decree inclosed in a letter to the pro-prætor of Hetruria. Upon this the latter set out for Spain. In this country L. Æmilius Paullus, who afterwards acquired great glory by the defeat of king Perses, but had himself been defeated the former year, had drawn together an army hastily, before the arrival of his

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LVII.

successor, and given the Lusitanians battle. He routed and put them to flight, killed 8000, and took 3300 prisoners, together with their camp. This victory considerably quieted Spain. The same year, before the 29th of December, by a decree of senate, L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Atilius Serranus, and L. Valerius Tappus, settled a colony of 3000 men at Bononia; each knight had 70 acres of land assigned him, and all the rest 50. This land was taken from the Boii, who had formerly expelled the Hetrurians out of it. The same year many illustrious candidates stood for the censorship. This competition, as if it had not been of itself sufficient to raise contention, however gave rise to a much warmer struggle. The candidates were T. Quinctius Flamininus, P. Corn. Scipio, son of Cneius, L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Porcius Cato, M. Claudius Marcellus, and M. Acilius Glabrio, who had conquered Antiochus and the Ætolians at Thermopylæ. The people inclined most to favor the latter, because he had gained their interest by large largesses of corn. This gave great offence to the other illustrious competitors, and they were enraged to see a NEW MAN preferred to them. Upon this P. Sempronius Gracchus, and C. Sempronius Rutilus, plebeian tribunes, indicted him for having neither carried in triumph, or brought into the treasury, Antiochus's treasure, and some part of the booty taken in the camp. Various depositions were taken both of the lieutenant generals and legionary tribunes. The most conspicuous of the witnesses was M. Cato; however what authority he had acquired by the constantly upright tenor of his life, was much lessened by his appearing in a whited robe. He deposed that he had seen several gold and silver vases amongst the other booty of Antiochus's camp when it was taken, but he had not seen them a second time at the triumph. At last Glabrio, principally in spite to Cato, said he would drop his competition, since another competitor, as much a start-up as himself, opposed him, and by perjury endeavored to get him fined:

fined. The noble candidates were inwardly incensed at this.

THE people were moved two different days to fine him in 100000 asses; but as he desisted from his competition for the censorship on the third, the people would not vote for exacting the fine, and the tribunes dropt their action. T. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Claudius Marcellus were chosen censors. About the same time L. Æmilius Regillus, who had defeated the admiral of Antiochus, had an audience of the senate in the temple of Apollo without the city. After he had related what vast fleets of the enemy he had fought, and how many ships he had sunk and taken, the fathers unanimously decreed him a naval triumph on the calends of February. In his triumph were carried 49 crowns of gold, but not so much money as was expected in a triumph for a king, being only 34700 Attic tetradrachmæ^a, and 131300 cistophori^b. After this the senate by decree appointed supplications for Æmilius's victory in Spain. Not long after L. Scipio arrived. That he might have as honorable a surname as his brother, he assumed that of Asiaticus. He gave an ample detail of his exploits, both in the senate and assembly of the people. Some observed, that the war appeared greater by report, than difficult in the management. One memorable battle had put an end to it, and the glory of his victory was owing to that gained before at Thermopylæ. But those who made a true estimation of the matter, considered that it was rather the Ætolians than Antiochus, that had been conquered at Thermopylæ. 'What number of troops, asked they, had the Syrian there? He had mustered his whole force in Asia, having drawn together auxiliaries of all nations from the utmost limits of the east.'

IN consequence they had the greatest reason to return the highest praises to the immortal Gods, for having granted them so complete a victory with so

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LIX.

^a 44000. 14s.

^b 22611. 5s. 6d. 2-3.

CHAP. LIX. little difficulty, and to decree a triumph to the general. He triumphed on the last day of February. The procession was much more magnificent than that of Africanus; but when one considers the exploits on which it was founded, the danger and nature of the war was no more comparable to it, than he in abilities as a general to his brother, or Antiochus to Hannibal. There were carried 234 standards, 134 plans of cities, 1220 elephants teeth, 224 gold crowns, 137420^a pound weight of silver, 224000 Attic tetradrachmæ^b, 331700 cistophori^c, 140000 gold philippus's^d, of silver plate 1424 pound weight, and of gold 1024. Before his chariot were led 32 principal lords of the Syrian court. Every soldier had 25 denarii, every centurion double, and every knight triple. After the triumph the soldiers had double pay, and double subsistence corn. He had already given them double in Asia after the battle. His triumph was almost a year after the expiration of his consulate.

CHAP. LXI. ABOUT the same time the consul Manlius arrived in Asia, and the prætor Labeo at the fleet. The consul had sufficient employment against the Galatians. There was no enemy at sea since the defeat of Antiochus. Labeo therefore studied how to employ himself, that he might not be deemed inactive in his province. At last he thought his best course would be to pass over to Crete. The people of Cydon^a made war on those of Gortyna^b and Cnossus^c, and it was reported that there were many Romans and Italians slaves on the island. He set sail from Ephesus, and as soon as he landed in Crete, sent messengers round to all the cities ordering them to lay down their arms, bring him all the prisoners they had in their towns or farms, and send deputies to him to deliberate on what related to their mutual interests.

^a At five shillings per ounce, worth 202260 lb. ^b Now *Canea*, on the north side of the island.

^c 28933 l. 6 s. 8 d. ^d The village *Gortyna* in the middle of it.

^e 5787 l. 15 s. 2 d. 2-3. ^f Now *Giafor*, near the former.

The Cretans took no notice of his messages, and none except the Gortynii restored the prisoners. According to Val. Antias, 4000 were restored over all the island for fear of the hostilities with which the prætor menaced them, and that the senate decreed him a naval triumph for this, though he performed no other exploit. Then he returned to Ephesus, and detached three ships to the coast of Thrace, to order the evacuation of Enus and Maronea, by Antiochus's garisons, that they might be free.

BOOK XXXVIII.

In Epirus the Ambracians, after a siege, surrender to the consul M. Fulvius, who reduces Cephallenia, defeats the Ætolians, and grants them peace. His colleague Manlius conquers the Gallo-Greeks, Tolistoboi, Tectosagi, and Trœmi, who had invaded Asia under the conduct of Brennus, and were the only people on this side mount Taurus, who had not submitted to the Romans. Here also is an account of their origin, and how they seized the country they then possessed. An instance of great virtue and chastity in a lady, wife of Orgiagos, a king of the Gallo-Greeks. Being taken prisoner, she kills a centurion, who had the custody of her, and ravished her. The censors complete a lustrum, and 238,328 citizens are registred. An alliance made with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Cn. Manlius triumphs over the Gallo-Greeks, notwithstanding the opposition of the ten commissioners, by whose advice he had concluded the peace with Antiochus, after pleading his own cause in the senate. Africanus has a day appointed, as some authors say, by Q. Petillius, and others Nævius, a plebeian tribune, to be try'd for having defrauded the treasury of booty taken from Antiochus. When the day of trial comes, and he is summoned from the rostra, he answers, Romans, on this day I vanquished the Carthaginians, and so goes to the capitol followed by the people. After that, to avoid the injurious prosecutions of the tribunes, he retires into voluntary exile to Linternum. It is uncertain whether he died there, or at Rome: for a monument of him is to be found at both. His brother Asiaticus indicted and condemned for the same crime. As he is leading to prison, a plebeian tribune, Tib. Semp. Gracchus, who before had been an enemy to the Scipios, opposes it. Africanus gives him his daughter in marriage in return for this favor. When the prætors send the questors to confiscate his effects, they not only do not find the least vestige of the king's money, but not so much as would pay his fine. His friends

friends and relations contribute a vast sum for him, but he refuses to accept it ; and only as many of his effects are redeemed as were necessary for his living with decency.

CHAP.
I.

WHILE the war was prosecuting in Asia, Ætolia did not enjoy tranquillity. The disorders begun among the Athamanians, who, after Amynder was expelled, were at that time held in subjection by a garison of Philip, commanded by some of his generals. Their tyranny and pride made the people regret the loss of their old master Amynder, who lived in exile in Ætolia, and being informed by letters from his friends of the present state of his kingdom, conceived hopes of repossessing himself of it. He sent back the messengers to the chief men of Argithea, the capital of Athamania, to inform them, that as the Ætolians had resolved to assist him with their chosen troops, and Nicander their prætor at their head, he would enter his kingdom with those aids, if they could rely on the affections of the people. At last, when he saw every thing ready, he informed them of the day on which he would execute this project. At first there were only four persons in the conspiracy against the Macedonian garison ; but they soon associated six apiece to assist in the execution of their plot. Afterwards, having no dependance on so small a number, (that was fitter to keep the matter from being discovered, than to perform it) they admitted twenty four accomplices more. This made their number fifty two. They divided themselves into four bodies ; the first went to Heraclea, a second to Tetraphylia, where the king's treasures used to be kept ; a third to Theudoria, and a fourth to Argithea. They had all agreed at their first arrival in those cities, to appear quietly in the forum, as if they had come about private business, till the appointed day when they should assemble the people to drive the Macedonian garisons out of the citadels. When the day arrived, Amynder appeared on the frontiers with 1000 Ætolians, according to concert, and Philip's troops were expelled from

from four different places at once. Then couriers were dispatched to the other cities, desiring they would shake off Philip's tyrannical yoke, and reinstate their lawful prince on his throne. In consequence the Macedonians were driven out every where: Only Zeno governor of the garison of Theium^a intercepted the letters, and held out a siege in the citadel for several days: but at last it also surrendered, and Amynder got possession of all Athamania, except the fort of Athenæus, which lyes on the borders of Macedon^b.

PHILIP no sooner received advice of the revolt of the Athamanians, than he set out with 6000 men, and with great expedition reached Gomphi. As the greatest part of his troops had not been able to hold out so long marches, he went with 2000 to Athenæus, which was still possessed by his garison. Having sounded the inclinations of the neighboring people, and found them all resolved to oppose him by arms, he went back to Gomphi, and from thence returned with all his forces into Athamania. He detached Zeno before with 1000 foot to seize Ethopia, a castle that stood very conveniently to command Argitheia. As soon as he saw the detachment in possession of the place, he halted near the temple of Jupiter Acræus. There he was detained one day by a terrible storm, and the next decamped with intention to march to Argitheia. As he was on his march the Athamanians suddenly appeared on the eminences above the roads. The first ranks halted as soon as they descry'd them, and the whole army was struck with a panic, and every one began to think, what would have become of them, if their army had enter'd the hollow way under these precipices. The king was extremely desirous to have got through the defile, if the troops would have followed him; but this confusion among them obliged him to recal those in the front and march back the way he came. The

CHAP.
II.

^a On the north part of *Athamania*.

^b In the confines of *Dryope* and *Perræbia*.

CHAP. II. Athamanians at first followed them at a distance without annoying them. But after they had joined the Ætolians, they left them to harass the Macedonian rear, while they fell on both their flanks. Some went before by nearer ways with which they were acquainted, and posted themselves in their front. The Macedonians were in so much confusion and terror, that they seemed rather to be flying precipitately than on a march, and got over a river, but not without leaving many arms and men behind. Here the Athamanians quitted the pursuit, and the Macedonians marched securely to Gomphi and from thence returned to Macedonia. All the Athamanians and Ætolians assembled to fall on Zeno and his garison in Æthopia, which consisted of 1000 men. As he did not rely on the strength of that post, he seized a higher and steeper. But the Athamanians finding it accessible in many places, dislodged him. As they were dispersed on pathless precipices, with which they were unacquainted, and which retarded their flight, great numbers of them were taken prisoners, and many killed. Zeno escaped with a few to the king. Next day they obtained a truce to bury their dead.

CHAP. III. AMYNANDER, having recovered his kingdom, sent ambassadors to the Roman senate and into Asia to the two Scipios, who had halted at Ephesus after the complete defeat of Antiochus. He solicited a peace, and excused himself, for having employ'd the arms of the Ætolians in recovering his dominions. He made heavy complaints of Philip. From Athamania the Ætolians marched to Amphilochia^a, the greatest part of which nation voluntarily submitted to them. Having repossessed themselves of Amphilochia, which had formerly been subject to them, they went to Aperentia^b with hopes of equal success. This nation likewise submitted voluntarily. The Dolopians had never been in their interest, but in that of Philip. They run at first to arms against the

^a On the east side of Epirus, between Molossus and Æthamania.

^b Between Molossus and Athamania.

Ætolians, but seeing the Amphilochians submit, and being informed that Philip had retired out of Athamania, and that his garison was cut to pieces, they revolted from him to the Ætolians. By the subjection of the nations round them the Ætolians believed themselves sufficiently secured on all sides against Philip; when news arrived that the Romans had vanquished Antiochus in Asia. Soon after their own embassadors returned from Rome disappointed of peace, and with the news that the consul Fulvius was already at sea with an army against them. This terrify'd them so, that they procured deputations from Rhodes and Athens, that through the credit of these states their prayers, formerly rejected, might be more favourably heard by the Roman senate. With them they dispatched the principal men of their state to try their last fortune; but they had never thought of providing against the war till the enemy was almost in sight. Fulvius landed his army at Apollonia, and assembled a diet of the Epirotes to deliberate on the properest place where to open the campaign. They advised him to attack Ambracia*, which had joined the Ætolians. They supported their advice thus. 'If the Ætolians should come to relieve it, there are open plains round it to fight in. If they should decline fighting, it would prove an easy siege, as the neighboring places afforded plenty of materials for raising mounts and other works. The Aracthus, a navigable river, which run by the walls of the town, would be of great use in carrying provisions to the Roman camp. The season also invites to undertake this enterprize.' These arguments induced the consul to cross Epirus.

AT his first arrival before the city, he perceived it would be difficult to reduce it. It is situate under a very steep mountain call'd by the natives Peranthon. The city faces towards the west, where are the plains and the river with a wall within, and on the east a fore

* Near where Arta in Upper Albania now stands, at the mouth of the Aracthus.

CHAP.

IV.

built on the hill. The river rises in Acarnania^a, and falls into a gulph of the sea, which from the neighborhood of the city is called the gulph of Ambracia^b. Besides being defended by the river on one side and the hills on the other, it has a strong wall about 3000 paces in circumference. Fulvius pitched two camps in the plain at a little distance from each other, and raised a tower on an eminence overagainst the citadel. All these he surrounded with lines of circumvallation and contravallation, to cut off the besieged from all communication with the country, and prevent those without from throwing succors into the town. Upon advice of this siege the Ætolians, by order of their prætor Nicander, assembled at Stratos^c. At first they resolved to march with all their forces and raise the siege. But when they saw that the greatest part of it was surrounded with works, and that the Epirotes were encamped on the other side of the river, they determined to divide their army. Eupolemus set out with 1000 light troops for Ambracia, and entered the town through the intervals of the trenches which were not yet join'd. Nicander resolved at first with the remainder of the army to attack the Epirotes by night, as the river hindered them from being easily supported by the Romans. But reflecting more coolly on the hazard of this enterprize, and that if the Romans should get intelligence of it, he could not retreat in safety, he was deter'd from the attempt, and went to ravage Acarnania.

CHAP.

V.

THE consul, having now finished his lines and engines, assaulted the town in five places at once. He brought up three machines at equal distances, where the plains afforded easiest access, opposite to that part called Pyrrheus, a fourth facing the temple of Æsculapius, and a fifth on the side of the citadel. He battered the walls with rams, and pulled down the battlements with poles armed with iron hooks.

^a At the foot of mount *Bindus*.

^b Now the gulph of *Larta*.

^c *Strato* in *Acarnania* on the banks of the *Arbelous*.

The terrible appearance of the engines and the shocks they gave the walls, at first struck the besieged with fear and consternation. But seeing their walls sustained these rude strokes without falling, they resumed their

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v.

courage. They let down beams, weights of lead or stones by pulleys, upon the rams, when in motion, which deadened their strokes; and by hooks of iron laid hold on those of the enemy, and pulling them within the wall, broke the poles. Besides they annoyed the enemy much by sallying by night on those that guarded their works, and on their advanced guards by day. While matters went thus before Ambracia the Ætoli-
 lians had returned from ravaging Acarnania to Stratos. Here their prætor Nicander, hoping to find an opportunity to raise the siege by some bold attempt, detached Nicodamus to throw himself into the town with 500 Ætoli-
 ans. With him he fixed a certain night and hour, when the besieged should sally out and attack the works overagainst Pyrrheus, while he alarmed the Roman camp, hoping that great effects would follow this unexpected attack, the alarm of which would be augmented by the darkness. In the dead of night Nicodamus, having passed unobserved by some of the guards, and by main force open'd a passage through others, got over an arm of the river, and so into the town. This elevated the hopes and courage of the besieged so much, that they were ready to undertake the most dangerous enterprizes. As soon as the appointed night came, according to concert they attacked the works. This vigorous attempt had no good effect, because not seconded by an assault on the outside. Nicander was either deter'd by fear, or thought it of more importance to relieve the Amphilochians, who had lately submitted to them, and who were attacked by Perfes, Philip's son, who had been detached to recover Dolopia and Amphilochia.

I HAVE already observed, that the Romans had raised works in three places overagainst Pyrrheus. These the Ætoli-
 ans attacked all at once, but not with

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the

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the same weapons or ardor. One body advanced with lighted torches, tow, pitch, and faggots, in such much that they all blazed with fire. These killed many of the Roman guards at the first assault. But when the alarm and shouts reached the camp, the consul gave the signal to arm, and the Romans ran apace out at all the gates to relieve their companions. In this one place the Ætolians and Romans fought with fire and sword. But the Ætolians, having in vain attacked the other two posts, were repulsed at the beginning. In the third the battle was very bloody. Two generals, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, animated them in two different places, flattering them with assured hopes, that Nicander, according to concert, was at hand, and ready to fall on the enemies' rear. This kept up their courage for some time. But not receiving the signal agreed on with Nicander, and perceiving the number of enemies increased, and themselves without support, their ardor abated. At last they ceased fighting, and finding difficulty to retire in safety, they were driven in precipitation into the city. However they had burnt many of the works and killed more Romans than exceeded the number of their own slain. Had Nicander seconded them according to concert, it is certain, they would at least have destroyed the works at one post, with great slaughter of the enemy. But that night's retreat was not the only bad effect of this disappointment; for the Ambracians and Ætolians within the town, looking upon themselves as betray'd by their own people, were less earnest in exposing themselves to dangers. Not a man of them would sally out upon the Roman guards as formerly, and they fought in security from their walls and towers.

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VII.



FARO

IV



As soon as Perseus heard of the approach of the Ætolians, he raised the siege, and having only ravaged the lands, quitted Amphilochia, and retired into Macedonia. The ravages committed on the sea coasts drove the Ætolians thence. For Pleuratus king of the Illyrians, had arrived in the gulph of

Corinth

Corinth with 60 frigates and having join'd the Achaean fleet that lay at Patrae, made a descent on the coasts of Aetolia. Against him they sent a detachment of 1000 men, who by the advantage of a short march by land, when the fleet doubled any cape, were ready to meet it on the other side. At Ambracia, the Romans by their continual battering had made a small breach in the wall, but could not enter the town. For the besieged with the greatest expedition run up a new one in place of what had fallen, and the soldiers, fighting bravely in the breach, served instead of a rampart. The consul, seeing he did not succeed by open force, resolv'd to have recourse secretly to sap, and for that purpose covered the ground with mantlets. The pioneers dug the mine and carried out the earth, for several days and nights, without the enemy's perceiving it. But presently the great heap of earth discovered to the besieg'd what the Romans were employ'd in. Being afraid, lest a passage into the town should have been already made under the walls, they dug a ditch within, opposite to the ground they saw covered with mantlets. After they had made it as deep as the bottom of the Roman mine could possibly be, all was hush'd, and they apply'd their ears and heard the noise of the pioneers. Upon this they open'd a passage directly to the mine. This was no difficult work. For in a very short time they came to a hollow, where the enemy had prop'd the wall with posts. When the two mines met, and there was a passage open from the ditch to where the Romans were at work, a battle ensued under ground, first with the iron instruments they used in working, but soon between armed men that entered them. But this attack did not last long, as the besieged could, when they pleased, shut up the mine, either with clothes made of goat's hair, or hastily claping doors upon it. They likewise invented an easy machine to use against the Roman pioneers. They made a vessel with a hole bored in the bottom so large as to receive

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ceive a moderate pipe. The pipe was iron, and also the cover of the vessel which was bored through in many places. This they filled with down, and turned the head of it towards the mine. Through the holes in the tops were drove long pointed spikes to keep off the enemy. Then they put a spark of fire among the feathers, and with bellows in the mouth of the pipe blowed it up to a flame. By this means the mine was filled with a great smoke, and so intolerable a smell from the burning feathers, that it was not possible for any person to continue in it.

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VIII.

IN this situation was the siege of Ambracia, when Phaneas and Damoteles arrived in the consul's camp, with full powers from a general diet of the Ætolians to conclude a peace. For, as on the one hand Ambracia was vigorously pressed, and on the other the sea-coasts ravaged, as Dolopia and Amphilochia were by the Macedonians, and they were not able to sustain three wars at the same time, their prætor had summoned a diet to know what the chief men would advise him to. They were unanimously of opinion, ' that they ought to solícite a peace upon
' honorable conditions, or even intolerable, if they
' could obtain no other. They had undertaken the
' war in hopes of support from Antiochus: But since
' he had been vanquished by sea and land, and dri-
' ven almost out of the limits of the earth, beyond
' the summit of mount Taurus, how could they hope
' to carry it on. That Phaneas and Damoteles
' should act in the present conjuncture according to
' their zeal and fidelity, as they should judge most
' for the advantage of the Ætolians. For what
' choice had fortune left them, or what other course
' could they take?' The deputies being arrived with these powers, ' implored the consul to spare
' Ambracia, and have compassion upon a people
' formerly an ally, and who were driven into mad
' enterprizes, if not by injuries, at least by the miseries
' they had suffered. You have not received so much
' prejudice from the Ætolians in the war with An-
' tiochus,

CHAP. VIII.

‘tiochus, as you formerly did benefit in that against Philip; and as in the latter our recompence was but inconsiderable, so in the other you ought not to punish us with excessive rigor.’ To this the consul answered. ‘You have often solicited peace, but with little sincerity. In asking peace you should imitate Antiochus, whom you drew into the war. He has not only ceded a small number of cities, whose liberty was in contest, but what would make an opulent kingdom, all Asia on this side mount Taurus. I will not listen to your proposals of peace, till you lay down your arms. You must first deliver up them and all your horses, and pay the Romans 1000 talents of silver^a, and the half down, if you expect peace: Another article shall be, that you shall have no other friends or allies but those of Rome.’

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THE deputies, thinking these conditions extremely hard, and being conscious of the untractable and fickle disposition of their nation, returned home without giving the consul an answer, to know again of the prætor and chief men what they should do. But they were welcomed with outcries and reproaches, for having delay’d accepting the terms. So they were sent back with orders to conclude it on any conditions, but on the way they fell into an ambush of the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and were carried prisoners to Tyrrheum. This retarded the negotiation. While deputies from Athens and Rhodes, who had come to intercede for them, were with the consul, Amynder, king of Athamania, arrived under safe conduct in the Roman camp, being more anxious for the safety of Ambracia, where he had spent the greatest part of his exile, than for the Ætolians. They informed the consul of the fate of the deputies, upon which he ordered them to be brought back from Tyrrheum, and as soon as they arrived the negotiations were again set on foot. Amynder’s principal business was to induce the Ambracians

^a About 160000 l.

CHAP. IX. to surrender, and used his utmost efforts to compass this end. Having approached the walls and confer'd with the chief men to no purpose, he got permission from the consul to enter the town. Here partly by arguments and partly by prayers, he prevail'd with them to yield implicitly to the consul. C. Valerius, brother to the consul, and son of Lævinus, who had contracted an amity with the Ætolians before, was of great service to them on this occasion. The first thing agreed was, that the Ambracians should open their gates to the consul, on condition that the Ætolian auxiliaries might quit the place unmolested. Then, ' that they should pay 500 Euboic ' talents^a, 200 down, and the rest at six annual payments: they should restore all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans: they should hold none of ' the cities which, since the arrival of T. Quinctius ' in Greece, had either been taken by the Romans, ' or had surrendered voluntarily. And the island of ' Cephallenia should not be included in the treaty.' Though these conditions were easier than they could have expected, yet, on the petition of the Ætolians, the consul gave them permission to consult the diet of their nation. They had some dispute about the cities. They thought it hard, that those which had been formerly under their jurisdiction should now be dismember'd from their body. However they unanimously approved the peace. The Ambracians presented the consul with a crown of gold weighing 150 pounds^b. The consul took away all the brazen and marble statues, and exquisite paintings, with which Ambracia abounded more than any other city of that country, because Philip formerly had his palace there. But he took no other spoils from thence.

CHAP. X. THEN the consul removed into the heart of Ætolia, and encamped at Argos of Amphilochia, about 22 miles from Ambracia. Thither the Ætolians at length returned to the consul, who had long expressed his wonder at their delay. When they in-

^a 96875 l.^b 7200 l.

formed him, that the peace had been approved in a general assembly of their nation, he ordered them to go to Rome: he also permitted the Athenians and Rhodians to go with them to intercede for them, and sent his brother C. Valerius to accompany them. He himself went to Cephallenia. When the Ætolians arrived at Rome, they found the senators highly prejudiced against them by the complaints of Philip. He had sent deputies and letters to complain that they had taken Dolopia, Amphilochia, and Athamania from him, and driven out his garisons; nay, at last, his son Perfes out of Amphilochia. This had shut the ears of the fathers against the requests of the deputies. However they heard the Rhodians and Athenians favorably. The eloquence of the Athenian deputy, Leon son of Icesias, made an impression upon them. He used the following common similitude.

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‘ The multitude of Ætolia is like a calm sea agitated by impetuous winds; while in their natural state they continued in their alliance with the Romans: but when a Thoas and Dicæarchus from Asia, a Menetas and Damocritus from Europe, began to blow, they had raised that boisterous storm which had driven them to Antiochus, as upon a rock where they had split.’

AFTER many hard struggles, the Ætolians at length prevailed to have peace granted them. The conditions of it were, ‘ They shall revere the

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xi.

‘ majesty and domination of the Roman people. ‘ Shall not suffer any army intended against Rome or her allies to pass through their dominions, or assist them in any manner. All Rome’s enemies shall be theirs, and they shall make war upon them. ‘ They shall restore to the Romans and their allies all the fugitive slaves, deserters and prisoners, except such as had been sent back, and were taken a second time, or such as they took from the enemy during the time they were in union with Rome. ‘ As for the rest, they shall in the space of an hundred days deliver up as many of them as can be

CHAP. XI. found to the magistratēs of Corcyra. Such as are missing just now, shall be restored as soon as found. They shall give forty such hostages as the consul shall chuse, the youngest of which shall not be under twelve, or the oldest above forty years of age. The prætor, general of horse, public scribe, or any who were formerly hostages with the Romans, shall not be of the number. Cephallenia shall not be included in the treaty. As to the tribute and times of it's payment, no alteration was made in the consul's agreement about it. They were left at liberty to pay gold instead of silver, provided the difference between the one species and the other should be only ten to one. The Ætolians shall renounce all clame to the cities and territories formerly subject to them, but had been reduced, or voluntarily submitted to the Romans during the consulate of L. Quinctius and Cn. Domitius, or since that time. The city Oenias and it's district shall continue subject to the Acarnanians. On these conditions a treaty was concluded with the Ætolians.

CHAP. XII. NOT only during the same campaign, but almost about the very time Fulvius was thus employ'd in Ætolia, the other consul Manlius marched against the Galatians. I now procede to give an account of his progress. Early in the spring he came to Ephesus, and had taken upon him the command of Scipio's troops. After having reviewed them, he assembled the soldiers, and praising the valor by which they terminated the war with Antiochus in a single battle, he exhorted them to act in the same manner in the war he was to undertake against the Galatians, Antiochus's auxiliaries, and who were of so savage and untractable a disposition, that if they were not reduced, Antiochus had been driven beyond mount Taurus to no purpose. He spoke of himself very briefly and with modesty, saying nothing of which the truth was not known. Every one with acclamations approved his discourse. They looked on the Galatians only as a part of Antiochus's force

force which they had broken, and consequently as not able to make great resistance by themselves. The consul imagined the absence of Eumenes, who was then at Rome, would be a great loss to him, as that prince was acquainted with the country and the enemy, and whom it principally concerned to have them subdued. However he sent for his brother Attalus, and advised him to enter into the war with him. This prince having engaged to serve him in person, and with his forces, the consul sent him home to make preparations. A few days after the consul left Ephesus, Attalus met him at Magnesia with a 1000 foot and 200 horse, having ordered his brother Athenæus to follow him with the rest of his troops, and entrusted the government of Pergamos to the care of persons whom he thought firmly attached to his brother, and the interest of his kingdom. The consul, having commended the young prince, set out for the Meander. As he could not find a ford, he was obliged to halt on the banks of it, till he got boats to transport his troops. Having passed it, he arrived at Hieracomes^a.

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XII.

HERE was a famous and august temple of Apollo, where it is said the priests uttered oracles in fine verses. From thence he came in two days march to the river Harpasus. There the people of Alabandia^a sent deputies to desire, either by his authority or arms, to reduce to it's former allegiance a castle that had lately revolted from them. Here he was joined by Athenæus, brother to Eumenes and Attalus, and by Leusus the Cretan, and Corrago the Macedonian. These three brought with them 1000 foot, and 300 horse, of different nations. The consul sent a legionary tribune with a small detachment, who reduced the castle, and restored it to the Alabandians. He himself, without quitting his route, arrived at Antioch^b, upon the banks of the Meander.

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^a In *Caria*. The word signifies the sacred village. on the banks of the *Meander*.

^b Now *Tachiali*.

^c Now *Eblebanda*, near *Magnesia*,

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der. This river rises near Celænæ, which was formerly the capital of the Greater Phrygia, but [Antiochus Soter] had removed it's ancient inhabitants to a new city, to which he gave the name of Apamea, sister of Seleucus. The river Marfyas, which falls into the Meander, rises out of the same marsh. There is a tradition that one Marfyas, a Celænian, contended the prize with Apollo for playing on the flute. The river Meander issues out of the highest hill near Celænæ, and holding it's course through the middle of the cities Cara and Iona, falls into a gulph of the sea between Priene and Miletus. At Antioch Seleucus, son of Antiochus, arrived in the Roman camp to furnish it with provisions, in pursuance of the treaty made with Scipio. A little dispute arose about Attalus's troops; for Seleucus urged that Antiochus only stipulated to furnish the Romans with provisions. But the consul put an end to it with an air of authority, by sending a tribune to forbid the Romans to take any corn, till the Pergamenians had first received theirs. Then he marched to Gordium^c, from whence in three days he reached Tabæ^d, on the confines of Pisidia next the Pamphylian sea. They were a brave people, and no enemy had ever impaired their strength, so they ran to arms. Their horse sallied out upon the Romans, and put them in disorder at the first charge. But at length perceiving they were not a sufficient match either in numbers or valor, they retired to their city, and solicited pardon for their error, declaring they were ready to surrender. The consul condemned them to pay twenty-five talents of silver, and ten thousand medimnoi of wheat^e. Then their surrendry was accepted.

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XIV.



FROM thence the Romans continued their rout, and arrived in three days at the river Chaus*, and marching took Eriza* at the first assault. Then they arrived at the castle of Tabusion* on the river Indus*,


^c Near the river *Sangarius*. Here *Alexander the Great* cut the *Gordian* knot.

stony soil.

^e 1425 quarters, 6 bushels, and 2 gallons *English*.

^d So called because it stood on a

* All unknown.

so called from Indus being thrown from an elephant CHAP.
 into it. They were near the city of Cibyra^a, but XIV.
 received no deputation from Moagetes, tyrant of it. 
 He was a treacherous and unreasonable man. The
 consul detached C. Helvius at the head of 4000 foot,
 and 500 horse, to discover his intentions. As this
 officer was entering his territories, he was met by de-
 puties, who informed him, their master was ready
 to obey the consul's commands. They prayed him
 to enter their country as a friend, and restrain his
 troops from plundering the lands. They brought
 with them a crown of gold, weighing 15 talents^b.
 Helvius promised not to pillage the country, and or-
 dered the deputies to go to the consul. They made
 him the same speech; but he answered, 'I have no
 ' reason to think the tyrant your master bears any
 ' good will to the Romans. If he be really such a
 ' one as he is represented, I ought rather to think of
 ' punishing him, than making an alliance with him.'
 This covered the deputies with confusion, and they
 only requested the consul to accept of the crown, and
 give their master an opportunity by a conference of
 vindicating himself from the aspersions cast upon him.
 By the consul's permission the tyrant came to the
 camp next day. He was as negligently dressed and
 meanly attended, as if he had been a private person.
 His speech was suitable to his mean appearance, sub-
 missive and faltering. He endeavored to lessen his
 power, and complained of the poverty of the cities
 subject to him. Nevertheless he was master of Ci-
 byra, Syleum and Alimne. With an air of diffidence
 he promised to pay 25 talents^c, though it would be
 stripping him and his cities. The consul replied,
 'Your dissimulation is not to be born with. Was it
 ' not enough for you without blushing to impose up-
 ' on me by your deputies, but you must in person
 ' persist in the same impudent course? Will 25 ta-
 ' lents strip the dominions you have tyrannically u-

^a Now *Baruz*, near the springs of
Zanthus.

^b 2906 l. 5 s.

^c 4842 l. 15 s.

‘surped? Either procure me fifty in three days time, or expect to see your lands laid waste, and your capital besieged.’ This magisterial speech terrified him; however he obstinately persisted in his dissimulation. He in the dirtiest manner rose by degrees in his offers, sometimes making impertinent excuses, and at others having recourse to prayers and feigned tears. But the consul rose proportionably in his demands, till he insisted upon 100 talents^d, and 10000 medimnoi of corn^e. This entertaining scene lasted six days.

CHAP. FROM Cibyra the army continued it's march
 xv. through the district of Sinda^a, and halted on the other side of the Cataract^b. Next day they passed along the lake of Caralis^c, and halted at Mandropolis^d. From thence they proceeded to the next town, Lagos^e, the inhabitants of which fled for fear. Finding it abandoned, and full of all kinds of booty, they rifled it. From the head of the Lycus^f, they continued their rout next day to the river Colobatus^g. The Termessenes^h had taken Pisindaⁱ, and were then besieging it's citadel. The besieged, despairing of all other relief, sent deputies to the consul, imploring his aid: for being shut up in the citadel with their wives and children, they every day expected to perish, either by sword or famine. The consul was glad of this fair occasion to enter Pamphylia. He relieved the Pisindians, and made peace with the Thermessenes, on their paying him fifty talents of silver^k. He made the like demands from the Aspendians, and the other cities of Pamphylia. On his return from Pamphylia, he came the first day to the river Taurus^l, and the next to the village Xyline^m.

^d 19375 l. 10 s.

^e See note ^c, chap. xiii.

^a An inland town of *Pisidia*, near *Cibyra*.

^b Falls down mount *Taurus*, and runs into the *Pamphylian Sea*.

^c Near *Iconium*, the capital of *Lycaonia*.

^d It's situation unknown.

^e Unknown.

^f It runs into the *Meander*, and is supposed to be the same with the *Marস্যas*.

^g Unknown.

^h Now the village *Termes*, on the north of *Pamphylia*.

ⁱ On the north of the former.

^k 9687 l. 10 s.

^l Unknown.

^m The village of wood.

Then he continued to march on till he reached Cor-
masaⁿ. The next city to it was Darfa^o. He found
it deserted by the inhabitants, and full of all kinds of
effects. As he was marching along the lakes, depu-
ties from Lysinoë^p met him with the keys of their
city. After this he arrived in the territory of Saga-
lassus^q, a fertile country, and abounding with all
kinds of corn. It was peopled with Pisidians, the
bravest soldiers in those parts. This, with the ferti-
lity of the soil, plenty of men, and the situation of
their city, which was better fortified than most in
the neighborhood, inspired them with courage. When
the consul found no deputation from them waiting for
him on their confines, he sent a detachment to ravage
them. The sight of their effects carrying off, hum-
bled their obstinate hearts. They sent deputies who
obtained peace on paying 50 talents of silver, 20000
medimnoi of wheat, and an equal quantity of bar-
ley. Then they continued their rout to the springs
of Obryma^r, and encamped at the village Aporidos^s.
Next day Seleucus arrived from Apamea in the Ro-
man camp. After he had sent the sick with the use-
less baggage to Apamea, and furnished the Romans
with guides, they decamped. The first day they
reached Metropolis^t, and the second Diniaë^u of
Phrygia: from thence to Synnas^w. All the circum-
jacent towns were deserted, and the troops so encum-
bered with the spoil of them, that they marched only
five miles that day to Old Beudos: next day to Ana-
bura, the second to the springs of Alander, and the
third to Abassus. Here he halted several days, be-
ing come to the borders of the Tolistoboi.

THESE Gauls, leaving their native country in
multitudes, either because it was too small to contain

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ⁿ At the foot of mount *Taurus*.^o On the confines of *Lycia* and *Phrygia*.^p At the foot of mount *Taurus*, on the south borders of *Phrygia*.^q Geographers differ about it's situation.^r It ran into the *Meander*, a little above *Apamea Cibotos*.^s The word signifies difficult to pass.^t On the confines of *Pisidia* and *Galatia*, near the *Meander*.^u Near the borders of *Galatia*.^w Not far from *Hypsus*, and famous for the battle between *Alexander's* successors.

them,

CHAP. them, or the hope of booty, and imagining they
xvi. would meet no nation on their rout a match for them
in war, arrived under the command of Brennus in
the country of the Dardanians. Here they mutinied,
and 20000 separating from Brennus went to Thrace
with two petty princes Leonorius and Lutarius at
their head. There, by vanquishing those who op-
posed them, and laying others, who solicited peace,
under contribution, they penetrated as far as Byzan-
tium, and made themselves masters of all the cities of
Propontis, and caused them for a long time to pay
tribute. Then the fertility of Asia, which was so
near them, attracted them. Having taken Lyfi-
machia by stratagem, and subjected all the Cherfone-
sus, they carried their arms as far as the Hellespont.
Perceiving from thence Asia, separated from them
only by a narrow streight, they had a strong inclina-
tion to go thither. Accordingly they sent deputies
to Antipater, governor of that coast, to sollicite per-
mission to pass. But this negotiation being retarded
longer than they expected, a fresh quarrel arose be-
tween their chiefs. Leonorius went back to Byzan-
tium, from whence they had come, with the greatest
number of them. Lutarius sent several spies, under
the appearance of deputies, to Antipater, who brought
away two decked ships, and three open pinnaces.
By transporting in these one body after another night
and day, they all soon got over. Not long after Le-
onorius followed from Byzantium, and by the help
of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed the Helle-
spont. Then the Gauls united again, and aided Ni-
comedes against Zyboëas, who then occupied part of
Bithynia. The defeat of the latter was chiefly owing
to them, and Nicomedes thereby became master of
all that kingdom. Leaving Bithynia, they went to
Asia. They were 20000 in number, but not above
10000 had arms. However, they struck such a ter-
ror into the Asiatics on this side mount Taurus, that
they all submitted, those they did not come to, as
well as those they did, the most remote as well as
those

those near. Lastly, as they had been originally three CHAP. clans, the Tolistoboi, Trocmi, and Tectosagi, they XVI. also divided by lot Asia Minor into three parts, each of which paid tribute to one of them. The Trocmi had the coast of the Hellespont, the Tolistoboi, Æolis and Ionia, and the Tectosagi, the middle of the country; so that they made tributary all that part of Asia on this side mount Taurus. But they seated themselves in the neighborhood of the river Halys^a. In process of time they multiply'd so much, and became so formidable, that even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. Attalus, father of Eumenes, was the first Asiatic prince who refused it; and fortune favored him in this courageous resolution, contrary to the expectation of all the world. He defeated them in a considerable battle: however this did not break their spirits so much as to make them renounce their empire over the country. They retained their former power till the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Even after that prince was driven out of that country, they hoped, that as they were remote from the sea, the Romans would not penetrate so far as them with their arms.

THE consul, considering he was to engage with CHAP. a people so formidable to all that country, assembled XVII. his troops, and thus harangued them. I am not ignorant, fellow soldiers, that of all the Asiatic nations, the Gauls have the greatest reputation as warriors. This savage people, having carried their arms almost round the habitable globe, settled at last amongst the soft and effeminate Asiatics. They are tall of stature, their hair long and fair, their bucklers large, their swords long; at the beginning of a battle they set up strange howlings, make antic gestures, and a terrible clattering by striking their arms on their shields according to the manner of their countrymen. All this they do purposely

^a A river of Phrygia. It divides Asia Minor into eastern and western parts.

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to strike terror. They may perhaps intimidate
 Grecians, Phrygians, and Carians, not used to
 them. But the Romans are accustomed to the
 Gauls tumultuous manner of fighting, and well ac-
 quainted with their empty devices. Once indeed
 they routed our ancestors in the first battle at Allia ;
 but ever since that time, for a space of 200 years, we
 have driven and slaughtered them as if they had
 been sheep. We have triumphed for that nation
 oftner than for all the people in the world beside.
 You know by experience, that if you sustain their
 first charge, which they run to with fiery ardor
 and blind rage, the sweat flows from them in rivu-
 lets, their limbs are fatigued, and their arms drop
 out of their hands ; their bodies are so delicate,
 and minds so effeminate, that when their fiery rage
 abates, the heat of the sun, dust and thirst sink
 them to the ground without the help of the sword.
 Our armies have not only experienced the weak-
 nefs of Gallic armies, but even single men in com-
 bat. T. Manlius, and M. Valerius have shewn
 how much Roman valor is superior to the ungo-
 vernable fury of the Gauls. M. Manlius alone
 beat down a whole battalion of them attempting
 to scale the capitol. Besides, these our ancestors
 had to deal with Gauls born in their own country.
 Those we are to engage are degenerate ; they are
 now mixed with effeminate blood, and are justly
 called Gallo-Greeks. They are like plants and
 flocks, in whom the native juices are not sufficient
 to prevent the changes occasioned by the nature of
 the soil and climate in which they are nourished.
 Thus the Macedonians, who were transplanted to
 Alexandria in Egypt, Seleucia, Babylon, and other
 places all over the world, have degenerated into
 Syrians, Parthians and Ægyptians. The inhabi-
 tants of Marseilles, who settled among the Gauls,
 have contracted the manners and genius of their
 neighbors. Do the Tarentines retain any thing of
 the severe and rigid discipline of Sparta? Those
 who

who grow in their native soil retain it's generous CHAP.
vigor and virtue; those who are transplanted into xvii.
a foreign one, degenerate and contract the genius
and manners peculiar to the climate in which they
draw their breath. In reality then you, my victo-
rious troops, will only slaughter Phrygians totter-
ing under Gallic arms, as you did formerly in the
battle with Antiochus. I am not so much afraid
that you will not have fighting enough, as that you
will reap little glory by it. King Attalus often
routed and put them to flight. Wild beasts are
only fierce and untractable when they are new
taken, but grow tame and governable when fed
some time by men. It is the same with regard to
the fury and savageness of human-kind. Do you
imagine these Gallo-Greeks resemble their fathers
and grandfathers? They were exiles, who left their
country for want of room, and coasting along the
rugged coasts of Illyricum into Pœonia, and then
into Thrace, seized this country after fighting
with the fiercest nations. Hardened and whetted
by these difficulties, they settled in a country where
they were glutted with plenty of all kinds. Their
natural savageness was worn off by the fertility of
the soil, the mildness of the air, and the effeminate
voluptuousness of their neighbors. By heavens,
you, the thunder-bolts of war, ought to be on your
guard, and fly from the voluptuousness of Asia;
where foreign delicacies have so great a power to
enervate vigor and courage, and where the dis-
cipline and manners of the inhabitants are so po-
tently contagious. Yet it luckily happens, that
though they are not able to cope with you, that
they still retain their ancient reputation among the
Greeks, that they had at their first arrival. By
this means you will gain as much glory among
your allies, as if you had vanquished Gauls who
retained their former courage.'

THE N he dismissed the assembly, and having
sent ambassadors to Epistognatus, the only petty
prince

CHAP. prince who had adhered to Eumenes, and refused to
 XVIII. aid Antiochus against the Romans, he decamped
 from Abassos. The first day he came to the river
 Alander*, and the second to the village of Tisco*.
 Here deputies met him from Oroanda*, soliciting his
 alliance. He ordered them to pay 200 talents of
 silver, and upon their petition granted them permission
 to return and consult their state. Then he marched
 to Plitendum*, and from thence to Alyatti*. Here
 he was rejoined by the messengers he had sent to
 Epoffognatus. With them came deputies from that
 prince, imploring him not to attack the Tectosagi;
 for their master would go amongst them and persuade
 them to submit. He had permission so to do, and
 then the army moved through the territories of Axy-
 los*, or the place without wood. And it is justly
 so called, for it has neither tree, shrub, or any thing
 that can serve for fuel. Cow-dung is their only
 firing. As the Romans lay incamped at Cuballus^a,
 the enemy's cavalry appeared on a sudden, and charg-
 ing the Roman advanced guards, not only put them
 into disorder, but killed several of them. As soon
 as the alarm reached the camp, the Roman horse
 poured out of it and routed the Gauls, killing several
 of them in the flight. This convinced the consul he
 was in an enemy's country, so that he reconnoitred
 all the ground, and marched with great caution.
 Then he continued his march to the river Sangaris^b,
 where finding no ford to pass through, he laid a
 bridge across it. This river rises out of mount Ado-
 reus and running through Phrygia, mixes with the
 Thimber near Bithynia. Being thus enlarged it con-
 tinues it's course through Bithynia and falls into the
 Euxine sea. However it is not so remarkable for
 it's largeness, as for the plenty of fishes with which
 it furnishes them who live near it. Having finished
 the bridge and got to the opposite bank, the Gallic
 priests of Cybele came from Pessinus to meet him in
 their sacerdotal vestments, and pronouncing enthusiastic

* All unknown.

^a Near the river *Gallus*.^b Now *Zangari*.

prophecies in verse, ' that the Goddess granted the
 ' Romans a safe march, victory over the enemy,
 ' and the dominion of that country.' The consul
 answered, he accepted the omen, and so encamped
 on that spot. Next day he arrived at Gordium.
 This city is not very large, but carries on a greater
 trade than inland towns usually do. It is situated at
 an equal distance from three seas. On the west coast
 towards Sinope ' it has the Hellespont, and the shores
 on the opposite coast ' inhabited by the Cilicians'.
 It is also surrounded by many populous countries,
 whose trade all centers here. The consul found it
 abandoned by it's inhabitants, and full of effects of
 all sorts. Here the deputies of Epistognatus arrived,
 and informed Manlius, ' that their master had been
 ' with the princes of the Gauls, but they would not
 ' hearken to reason. That they were quitting the
 ' champaign country in crowds with their wives and
 ' children, and carrying and driving off all their
 ' most valuable effects, to mount Olympus^f, where
 ' they would defend themselves by arms and the si-
 ' tuation of the place.'

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THIS news was afterwards confirmed by messen-
 gers from Oenoanda^a. ' The Tolistoboi, said they,
 ' have fortify'd themselves on the top of mount
 ' Olympus, and the Tectosagi on another, called
 ' Magaba. The Trocmi have left their wives and
 ' children with the latter, and sent all their soldiers
 ' to reinforce the former.' Ortiagon was king of the
 Tolistoboi, Combolomarus of the Tectosagi, and
 Gaulotus of the Trocmi. Their chief motive to the
 war, was a persuasion, that by posting themselves on
 these high mountains with provisions to serve them
 a long time, they would tire out the patience of the
 enemy. ' They dare not, said they, attack us in
 this rough and steep post. But if they should at-
 tempt it, a handful of men will be sufficient to re-

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XIX.^c Now *Senab*.^f In *Myfia*. The Turks now call^d The sea of *Pamphylia*, to the it *Anatolida*.^a At the foot of mount *Taurus* in^e On the north it has the *Euxine*. *Carbalia*.

CHAP. XIX. pel them. Besides cold and want of provisions will not suffer them to continue long at the foot of these cold mountains.' Though they seemed sufficiently secured by the height of the mountains, they raised ramparts on the face of those they were encamped on. They however were not very careful to provide missile weapons, supposing the place would afford plenty of stones.

CHAP. XX. THE consul, being sensible he could not come to close fight, but that he must annoy their posts at a distance, prepared a vast quantity of lances, light javelins, arrows, leaden bullets and small stones for slings. Thus provided he approached mount Olympus, and encamped within five miles of it. Next day having gone out with Attalus and 400 horse, to reconnoitre the mountain and the Gallic camp, he routed a squadron of the enemy double his own number, that fall'd down upon him. Many of them were wounded and several killed in the flight. The third day he went out with all his squadrons to view the ground. As none of the enemy stir'd out of their lines, he rode round the hill at ease, and perceived that to the south the ascent was easy by little hills that reached to a certain height. On the north it was steep and perpendicular. It was inaccessible on all quarters, except three, one on the south, with a green path, and two more difficult ones on the east and west. After these discoveries he removed his camp to the foot of the mountain. Next day he offered sacrifices, and the very first victims being favorable, he advanced against the enemy in three divisions. He himself with the largest ascended the mount by the most accessible way, ordering his brother L. Manlius to climb up on the frozen east side as far as he could with safety. If he should meet with dangerous precipices, he forbade him to strive with difficult and insuperable posts, but to fall off and join him. Then he ordered C. Helvius with the third division to march leisurely by the foot of the mountain and ascend it on the west. He likewise

formed Attalus's troops into three divisions, one of which with the prince at it's head he took with himself. He left the cavalry and elephants posted on some eminences in the adjacent plain, with orders to those who commanded them to observe the action narrowly, and fly to the support of such as should need it.

THE Gauls, believing their camp inaccessible on the two flanks, to block up the avenue to the south, detached 4000 soldiers to seize a precipice about a mile from their camp, which commanded the pass. They looked on this post as impregnable to the enemy. As soon as the Romans perceived them, they prepared for an attack. The velites advanced a little before, and Attalus ordered his Cretan archers, and Trallian and Thracian slingers, to do the same. The foot advanced slowly up the steep, holding their shields in such a manner, as if they intended only to skreen themselves from the missile weapons without attacking the enemy. The battle began with darts at a distance, and was at first equal, the Gauls having the advantage of the ground, and the Romans in the abundance and variety of their weapons. Victory however soon declared itself. The shields of the Gauls were flat and long without breadth, and only covered part of their huge bodies. Besides they had no other arms but their swords, of which they could make no use while they fought at a distance. They had neglected to provide a sufficient quantity of stones, and those they had were too large; for each in the hurry had taken up such as came next to hand, and being unacquainted with this manner of fighting, they could neither apply strength or dexterity to increase the blow. As they were not sufficiently guarded by their shields, they were galled on all sides with arrows, bullets and lances; and mad with rage and fear, they knew not what course to take, seeing themselves caught in a manner of fighting they were entirely unfit for. As rage animates combatants in close fight, where they both give and receive wounds;

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CHAP. so where they are wounded at a distance and they
 XXI. know not how with light weapons, and have no
 enemy near to vent their blind fury on, they in despair
 run upon their companions like wild beasts that have
 been run through. All their wounds were visible,
 as they fought naked, and the blood trickled down
 their skins, which were very white, as they were al-
 ways clothed but in battle. Besides being very cor-
 pulent, they lost a greater quantity of blood, their
 wounds looked the more ghastly, and the whiter their
 skins were, the more easily were they stained with
 the purple blood. However they were not much
 moved by great wounds : for, when by cutting off
 the skin the wound is broader than it is deep they
 think it more honorable. For this reason, when the
 sharp point of an arrow or small ball pierced the
 skin, making but a small wound, which smarted
 them extremely, they probed it to fetch it out :
 but if it stuck fast, ashamed and out of patience to
 find themselves cruelly pain'd by so small a weapon,
 they lay down on the ground and rolled about mad
 with rage. Others rushing upon the enemy, were
 galled on all sides as they advanced, and when they
 came close up were stab'd by the velites. This corps
 carried bucklers three foot long, and javelins in their
 right hands to throw at a distance. Besides they had
 broad swords by their sides, and when they came to
 close engagement, they changed their javelins into
 their left hands, and made use of their swords. By
 this time but few of the 4000 Gauls remained, and
 these, seeing themselves defeated by the light troops
 and the heavy legions advancing, with precipitation
 regain'd their camp, where all were in the greatest
 confusion and consternation, and the women and
 children, and other unserviceable persons, were mixed
 with the warriors. Then the victorious Romans
 seized the eminence which the enemy had abandoned.

CHAP. ABOUT the same time L. Manlius and Helvius
 XXII. having climbed up on the east and west, as there was
 any ascent, and finding at last the mountain inaccessible

ble on these sides, turned to the easy ascent on the south. They followed the consul's division at a little distance from each other, as if it had been by concert, being obliged by necessity to take that step, which was the most salutary in their present circumstances. For in so uneven and disadvantageous ground, supports were of the greatest use, that, in case the first line should happen to be repulsed, the second might cover them and renew the fight at the same time. As soon as the legions were arrived on the eminences from which the light troops had driven the enemy, the consul ordered them to halt and take breath. Then shewing them the hill strewed with the dead bodies of the Gauls: 'If light troops, said he, have made such slaughter, what is to be expected from legions of undoubted courage and armed at all points? It is you, who must take that camp, to which the light armed corps have obliged them to retire with precipitation.' Nevertheless he ordered the velites to advance first. While the army halted, they had not spent the time idly, but in gathering the weapons that lay strew'd on the hill, that they might be well provided. At length they approached the camp. The Gauls, not relying on the strength of their lines, were drawn up before them. The Romans overwhelmed them with a shower of all kinds of missiles, which did great execution as the enemy were posted very close together: In a moment they were obliged to retire within their lines, leaving only strong guards at their gates. The Romans poured volleys of missiles into the camp, and it was evident from the cries of the women and children, that they did great execution. The antesignani of the legions threw their lances at the guards posted before the gates: but they did no farther execution, except that by piercing the shields they nailed them so close together, that they could make no longer resistance.

THE gates being thus left defenceless, those within fled on all sides before the conquerors could

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enter. They ran precipitately by practicable and impracticable ways. Neither precipices nor rocks could stop them, they dreaded the enemy so much. In consequence some leaped down from precipices of an immense height, and were dashed to pieces or broke their limbs. When the camp was taken the consul would not suffer it to be rifled, but ordered all his troops to pursue and augment the panic of the enemy. Then L. Manlius came up with the second division, but without suffering him to enter the camp, he sent him immediately to the pursuit. Soon after, giving the care of the prisoners to the legionary tribunes, he followed himself, from a persuasion that the greater the number that were killed and taken in their present consternation, the sooner the war would be brought to an issue. As soon as he was gone Helvius arrived with his division. He was not able to restrain his men from rifling the camp, insomuch as the booty fell unjustly into the hands of those who had not been present in the battle. The horse below kept their posts long without knowing any thing of the attack or victory; but at last riding as near the mountain as they could, they took and killed many Gauls that had been dispersed in the flight. A just account of the slain can't easily be given, as, by the flight the slaughter was made in different corners of the rocks, and many had leaped over precipices of vast height and died at the bottom, besides what were slain in the woods and bushes. Claudius, who says there were two different battles fought on mount Olympus, affirms that 40000 men were killed. Valerius, who on other occasions exaggerates, on this reduces them to 10000. It is probable the number of prisoners amounted to 40000, considering, that the Gauls, not like people going to war but in quest of a settlement, carried along with them a vast multitude of all ages and sexes. The consul heaped all the arms together and burnt them. Then he ordered all the booty to be brought before him, and sold what he thought belonged to the treasury, and distributed the

the rest with the most exact care equally among the soldiers. Having praised them all in general, he made presents to those who deserved them. With the approbation of the whole army he was lavish in the praises of Attalus ; and indeed this young prince had given extraordinary proofs of valor and activity in fatigues and dangers, in the action, and shewn great modesty after it.

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STILL the Tectosagi remained to be attacked. The consul set out in quest of them, and in three days arrived within ten miles of them at Ancyra^a the capital of Galatia. During his stay here, a female prisoner performed an immortal action. She was queen of Ortiagon and exquisitely beautiful. She was with other prisoners under the custody of a centurion, who had an equally strong passion for money and women. He first endeavored to gain her consent ; but seeing her express the greatest abhorrence of voluntarily gratifying his infamous lust, he employ'd force with a lady, whom fortune had reduced to slavery. Then to make her amends for this horrid injury, he offered to let her escape. Even in this he did not act with the generosity of a lover, for he agreed with her for a certain sum. To conceal the design from the other Romans, he allow'd her to send any of the prisoners she pleased to her own relations. He appointed a place near the river, where not more than two of her female relations should come next night and exchange the queen for the gold. By accident there was a slave of her own in the same prison with her. Him the centurion carried beyond the advanced guards in the first of the evening. Next night two female relations met the centurion with the queen at the place appointed. When they had pay'd down an Attic talent, which was the sum agreed on, the queen ordered them in her own language to draw their sabres and kill the centurion as he was weighing the money. With one stroke they cut off his head. The lady wrapt it in a corner of her robe, and carried

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XXIV.^a Now Enguri.

it to her husband Ortiagos, who had fled home from Olympus. Before she would embrace him, she threw it down at his feet. He was surprized at the strange salutation, and asked her whose head it was, and what had provoked her to an action so uncommon to her sex. Then she declared the violence that had been done her, and the revenge she had taken for it. It is said she sustained the honor of this great action, worthy of a virtuous woman, by a remarkably pious and modest behavior during the rest of her life.

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THE Tectofagi sent deputies into the consul's camp at Ancyra, to beg he would not leave that place, till he had an interview with their princes; for they would prefer peace on any terms to war. He appointed the interview next day in a place in the midway between the Gallic camp and Ancyra. Thither the consul went under an escorte of 500 horse, but not seeing any Gaul, he returned to his camp. Thither the same deputies repaired, to inform him that their princes could not come by occasion of some religious scruple; but their chief men would, and they had equal power to negotiate a peace. The consul answered, that he would then send Attalus. Accordingly they met. Attalus had a guard of 300 horse. The terms of peace were long debated, and at last they parted, as they could conclude nothing in the absence of the generals, having only agreed that the consul and their princes should meet in the same place next day. The design of the Gauls in these delays, was first to gain time to remove their wives, children and effects, which they would not hazard with their own persons, over the river Halys, and then to surprize the consul, who had no suspicion of deceit in the conference. For the latter purpose they chose out of their whole number 1000 of try'd resolution, and their plot had succeeded, if fortune had not sided with the laws of nations, which they had conspired to violate. By accident the Roman foragers came to the place where the conference was to be held; for the tribunes, who commanded them, thought



thought it would be the safest place, as they would have the escort with the consul to protect them against the enemy, and they would also serve to secure him. However, they had posted their proper support of 600 horse nearer the camp. Upon Attalus's assurances that the Gallic princes would come to the conference, the consul quitted his camp with the same number of men he had done before. When he had rode about five miles, and approached the place appointed, he all of a sudden spied the Gauls advancing at a gallop with hostile intentions. Upon this he ordered his escort to halt, and bidding the knights take courage, and get ready their arms, he received their first charge with firmness, scorning to retire. But at last being hard pressed by a superior number, he retreated by degrees fighting in good order. But perceiving at last that keeping his ranks was no security, and that a slow retreat was attended with imminent danger, he suffered his troops to fly with precipitation. However the Gauls pressed hard upon them when they were broke, and killed several of them; nay the greatest part of them had certainly been cut off, had not the detachment of 600 horse, posted to support the foragers, come to their relief. Upon hearing the frightful cries of their companions, they had got ready their arms and horses, and came up to renew the fight, which had been quitted by the wearied troops. Fortune immediately changed sides, and the fear was transfer'd from the conquered to the victors. The Gauls were routed at the first charge, and were met by the Roman foragers running out of the fields. By this means, and their own horses being wearied, and those of the Romans that pursued them fresh, they found great difficulty to escape with safety. Very few of them got off, and none were taken prisoners, for the Romans gave no quarter, but expiated their perfidious infringement of the conference with their blood. Next day, while the troops were enflamed with resentment, the consul led them all against the enemy.

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IN order to be rightly informed, Manlius employ'd two whole days in making his observations on the nature of the hill. The third, after having first taken the auspices with all imaginable care, and then offered sacrifices, he led out his troops in four divisions. Two he intended to march up the middle of the hill, and two up the sides, to take the Gauls in flank. The Tectosagi and Troceni, amounting to 50000 men, formed the enemy's main body. As horse could be of no service among rugged rocks, 10000 troopers had dismounted, and posted themselves on the right wing. The left wing consisted of 4000 men Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and Morzes king of Pamphylia, had sent to their assistance. The consul made the same disposition of his troops as he had done at mount Olympus. He posted the light armed in the front, and took care to have missile weapons of all sorts at hand. When they came near the enemy, every thing on both sides was the same as it had been in the former battle, except that victory had augmented the courage of the Romans, while the enemy were dejected; for though in fact they had not been beaten themselves, yet they looked on the defeat of their countrymen as their own. In consequence, as this battle was begun in much the same manner as the former, so it had the same issue: showers of darts envelop'd the Gallic army like clouds: none of them durst stir out of his rank, for fear of being wounded, and the thicker they stood, the more they were galled, as if they had been purposely set up as a mark to shoot at. The consul seeing them in disorder among themselves, imagined that the very sight of the legions would make them turn their backs, so he drew off the velites and other auxiliaries into the intervals, and made his main body advance.

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THE Gauls, terrified with the remembrance of the defeat of the Tolistoboi, having their bodies sticking full of darts, and fatigued with loss of blood, and standing under arms, were not able to sustain the

first

first shout and charge of the legions. They directed their flight towards their camp, however few entered it. The greatest number, as they were pressed in the attack, fled past it to the right and left. The conquerors pursued as far as the lines, hewing the fugitives in the back. Here avidity of plunder restrained them from continuing the pursuit. Not a single man of them advanced farther. The wings of the Gauls kept the field longest, because the Roman columns, who were to attack them, were long in coming up. However they fled at the first shower of darts level'd against them. After the consul had endeavored in vain to draw off his centre which was rifling the camp, he detached his two wings in pursuit of the enemy. They followed a little way, and killed near 8000 men in the flight, for in truth none of the enemy faced them. The rest escaped over the Halys. A great part of the Romans passed the night in the enemies camp. The rest returned with the consul to their own. Next day he took an account of the prisoners and booty. The latter was immense, having been accumulated by the most rapacious of all nations, who during many years had by force of arms made all the people on this side mount Taurus their tributaries. The Gauls, having reassembled from all the places to which they had been dispersed in the flight, most of them all wounded, without arms, and stript of every thing, sent deputies to the consul to ask peace. He ordered them to come to him at Ephesus. For it being now the middle of autumn, and he hastening out of a country where the neighborhood of mount Taurus made the cold be sensibly felt, he led his victorious troops into winter quarters on the sea coast.

DURING these transactions in Asia, the other provinces enjoy'd a perfect tranquillity. At Rome the censors, T. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Claudius Marcellus, reviewed the senate. Africanus was a third time chosen president of it. They excluded only four from it, none of whom had born a curule office.

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office. They were equally indulgent in their review of the equestrian order. They contracted with workmen to rebuild from the foundation the edifice that stood in that part of the capitol where Sp. Mælius's house had formerly stood, and to pave the street leading from the gate Capena to the temple of Mars. They asked the senate's advice about the place where they should make a muster of the Campanians. The senate ordered it should be made at Rome. There were great inundations this year. The Tiber overflowed the field of Mars, and the low parts of the city, twelve times. Manlius having terminated the war with the Gallo-Greeks, his colleague Fulvius, after reducing the Ætolians, sailed to the island Cephalenia, and sent messengers round all the cities to enquire whether they would surrender, or try the hazard of war. Fear induced them all to surrender. Being ordered to send as many hostages as each was able, the people of Nesiotæ, Cranios, Pallene and Sama, sent 20. Thus the island seemed to enjoy a perfect tranquillity, when all of a sudden the Samæans revolted, but it is not known for what cause. They pretended to be afraid, that as their city was the most advantageously situated of any in the island, the Romans would oblige them to remove elsewhere. But whether they were themselves the authors of this apprehension, and so exchanged peace for vain fears, or the design had been dropt in conversation at Rome, and so reached their ears, I cannot determine; however it is certain that they no sooner had parted with their hostages, than they shut their gates: nay the prayers of these hostages, whom the consul sent up to the walls to move the compassion of their parents and countrymen, could not induce them to desist from their enterprize. Accordingly, as they seemed averse to peace, the consul began to invest the city. He had brought with him all the machines and engines he had used at the siege of Ambracia, and what works were to be raised, the soldiers soon run them up. He battered the walls with his rams in two different places.

THE

THE Samæans neglected nothing that could re-
pel the enemy, or damage their works. In two re-
spects particularly they made an obstinate defence.
They constantly ran up a new wall within the part
of the outer that was beaten down, and made fre-
quent sallies, sometimes to destroy the works, and
sometimes against the advanced guards, and most
commonly had the better in them. But at length a
trifling device was invented to restrain them. Ful-
vius sent for 100 slingers from Ægium, Patræ and
Dymæ. They had been accustomed, as exercise,
from their infancy, to sling into the sea such small
round stones as are commonly mixed with the sand
on the shore. In consequence they throw to a great-
er length, with a surer aim, and more strength, than
the Baleareans. Neither are their slings of the same
fashion with those of the Baleareans and other nations,
which have but a single thong. The thongs of theirs
are threefold closely sewed together, that when the
string is let go, the bullet may not vary, but, as it
lay firmly poised in the leather, it may fly as sure as
if it had been discharged from a cross-bow. Being
accustomed to discharge from a distance into a small
circle, they were so expert, that they were sure not
only of hitting the enemy on the head, but in whatever
part of the face they aimed at. These slingers checked
them from sallying so frequently, or with so much
intrepidity as formerly; insomuch that they begged
the Ægians from the walls, 'to let them alone, and
'leave them quietly to deal with the Romans.' How-
ever they held out four months. As they were few
in number, and some of them daily killed or wound-
ed, while those who survived were fatigued with con-
tinual duty, and their spirits quite desponding, the
Romans found an opportunity to scale the walls of
the citadel, which stood by the sea on the west side
of the town, and from thence marched into the fo-
rum. As soon as the inhabitants perceived that their
city was taken, they fled with their wives and chil-
dren into the citadel. Next day they surrendered,
their city was plundered, and themselves sold for slaves.

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XXIX.

CHAP. CEPHALLENIA being thus entirely subject-
 xxx. ed, the consul left a garison in Sama, and sailed to Peloponnesus, in compliance with a former invitation from the Ægians and Lacedæmonians. The diet of Achaia used always to assemble at Ægium, either on account of it's ancientness, or convenient situation. This year Philopœmen endeavored to abolish that immemorial custom, and was ready to move the diet to order that they should assemble in all the cities of Achaia by turns. On the arrival of the consul the heads of the cities would have assembled at Ægium, but the prætor Philopœmen appointed the diet at Argos. Though the consul favored the Ægians, yet seeing the generality of the members would meet at Argos, he went thither likewise. When the matter was debated there, the consul, perceiving the majority declared for their diet assembling in the cities alternately, he declined pronouncing in it. Then the Lacedæmonians invited him to determine some difference of theirs. The greatest number of the exiles, who had been driven out of the castles on the coast of Laconia, had retired to Lacedæmon, where they created great disturbances. The Lacedæmonians were at last out of all patience to see they had no free access to the sea, if they had a mind at any time to send deputies to Rome, or any other place; and that they had not a single maritime town to bring such foreign merchandize as they wanted. In consequence they surprized in the night a maritime city called Las^a. The inhabitants, and such exiles as lived there, were at first in great consternation at this unexpected attack: however at day-break they formed themselves into a body, and easily repulsed the aggressors. In the mean time the whole towns on the coast took the alarm, and all the castles, villages and exiles who lived there, sent deputations to the Achæans.

CHAP. THE prætor Philopœmen from the beginning
 xxxi. had espoused the cause of the exiles, and had always advised the Achæans to humble the power and pride of the Spartans. Accordingly, upon the present

^a South of *Sparta*, on the *Laconic Gulph*.

complaints, he represented to the council, ' Since CHAP.
 ' it was to us, that T. Quinctius and the Romans xxxi.
 ' committed the care of guarding the castles and vil-
 ' lages on the coasts of Laconia, and the Lacedæmo-
 ' nians, though obliged by treaty not to have med-
 ' dled with them, have yet attacked the village of
 ' Las, and slaughtered some of it's inhabitants, let
 ' us insist upon the treaty's being infringed, if they
 ' do not deliver up to us the authors and promoters
 ' of this enterprize.' The diet agreed to this, and
 accordingly deputies were dispatched to make the
 demand. The Lacedæmonians looked upon it as
 proud and presumptuous, and had their strength been
 as formerly, they would instantly have taken up
 arms. What they dreaded most was, that if by sub-
 mitting they should once receive the yoke, Philopœ-
 men would gain his end, and deliver Sparta to the
 exiles. However, mad with rage, they massacred
 thirty persons, who were in the interest of Philopœ-
 men and the Achæans. Then they passed a decree
 to renounce the alliance of the Achæans, and send
 envoys immediately to Cephallenia to surrender La-
 cedæmon to C. Fulvius and the Romans, and con-
 jure the former to come to Peloponnesus, to take their
 city into the protection of the Romans.

AS soon as the Achæans got information of this, all CHAP.
 the cities belonging to them unanimously consented to xxxii.
 declare war against the Lacedæmonians. But the
 winter hindered them from commencing hostilities
 immediately. However, by light incursions, rather
 like robbers than soldiers, they not only ravaged
 their lands, but made descents upon their sea-coasts.
 This quarrel brought the consul into Peloponnesus,
 where he ordered an assembly to be held at Elis, and
 the Lacedæmonians to be sent for, to discuss their
 pretensions. Here the matter was debated with great
 altercation and animosity. The consul, from an in-
 dulgence to both parties, gave them an ambiguous
 answer: however, he expressly pronounced, that they
 should suspend hostilities, and send ambassadors to
 Rome.

CHAP. Rome. Then he dismissed the diet. Both parties
 xxxii. sent envoys to the senate. The exiles entrusted their
 interest in the cause to the Achæan deputies, the
 chief of which were Diophanes and Lycortas both
 Megalopolitans. As these two men differed in
 opinion as to the affairs of their own republic,
 so they behaved very differently on the embassy.
 Diophanes referred the matter entirely to the arbi-
 tration of the senate, insisting they were the pro-
 perest persons to put an end to the differences between
 the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. But Lycortas,
 agreeable to his instructions from Philopœmen, de-
 manded, that in pursuance of the treaty, the Achæ-
 ans should be left at liberty to execute the decrees they
 had passed in conformity to their own laws, of which
 they had the free enjoyment; and that the senate
 should make no encroachment on that liberty which
 they themselves had confirmed to them. The Ro-
 mans at that time had a great regard for the Achæ-
 ans, however they were not inclined to make any
 alteration in respect to the Lacedæmonians. Conse-
 quently they gave so ambiguous an answer, that the
 Achæans thought they were left at liberty to act as
 they pleased with regard to the Lacedæmonians, who
 were of a different opinion. The Achæans used this
 power with great immoderation and haughtiness.

CHAP. PHILOPŒMEN, who was continued in the
 xxxiii. chief magistracy, appointed his army to rendezvous
 on the confines of Lacedæmon early in the spring.
 From thence he sent messengers to demand the au-
 thors of the revolt, promising if they complied, he
 would not attack their city, nor punish any of those
 that should be delivered, till they were heard in their
 own defence. All, except those whom Philopœmen
 had demanded by name, remained silent. But they
 promised to surrender themselves, if the deputies
 would give them security that no violence should be
 offered them, till they were heard in their own defence.
 Besides, several men of distinction went along with
 them to protect them in making their defence, be-
 cause

cause they thought the public safety depended upon theirs. The Achæans had never till then brought the Lacedæmonian exiles into the Spartan territories, being convinced that nothing would more effectually alienate the affections of that state : but then the exiles composed the van of their whole army. These met the Lacedæmonian criminals in a body at the gate. At first they loaded them with sneering reproaches, till mutual altercations arose, which so enraged the fiery exiles, that they fell furiously on the criminals. They invoked the Gods, and the protection that had been promised them by the deputies. The latter and the prætor drew off the mob and protected the Lacedæmonians, and to restrain them put some of the criminals in chains. However the tumult still increased. The Achæans at first went only to look on. But the exiles exclaimed against what they had suffered, and demanded their assistance. ‘ If we let this opportunity slip, said they, we shall never have such another. They have infringed the treaty concluded first in the capitol, renewed at Olympia, and solemnly ratified in the castle at Athens. The guilty must therefore be punished, before we enter into any new negotiation.’ This fired the multitude, and one man crying out kill, kill, they begun to throw stones. By this means they killed 17 of those that were in chains. The rest, to the number of 63, whom the prætor had protected from violence, not because he inclined to save them, but because he would not put them to death, till they had pleaded their cause, were produced before the incensed multitude. They attempted to speak, but were condemned almost without their defence being heard. Then they were all put to death.

THIS struck the Lacedæmonians into so great a terror, that they submitted. The Achæans ordered them to demolish their walls, dismiss their foreign mercenaries that had served under their tyrants out of Laconia, and against a certain day drive out all that vast number of slaves, to whom their tyrants had granted

CHAP. granted the right of citizenship. That the Achæans
 XXXIV. should be at liberty to seize, sell, or carry away any
 of them that should stay behind. Lastly, that they
 should renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and abolish
 their ancient customs, and for the future govern
 themselves by those of Achæa. By these means they
 would become one united state, and prevent diffe-
 rences between them. The dastards readily obey'd,
 especially in demolishing their walls, but were ex-
 cedingly vexed at receiving the exiles. A decree was
 forced to be passed in a public diet at Tegea, to
 oblige them to readmit them. When the Achæans
 were informed that the foreign mercenaries and the
 adscripti (for so were the slaves called whom the ty-
 rants had enfranchised) had been dismissed, and were
 dispersed over the country, it was resolved in the
 same diet, that before the whole body of them should
 be gone, the prætor should go with some light troops
 to seize them, and sell them as lawful booty. Ac-
 cordingly many were taken and sold. The money
 that arose from their sale, with consent of the Achæ-
 ans, was laid out in rebuilding a portico at Megalo-
 polis, which the Lacedæmonians had demolished.
 The territory of Belbinites, which the Spartan tyrants
 had usurped, was also restored to them in pursuance
 of a former decree of the Achæans, made in the
 reign of Philip son of Amyntas. By this means the
 strength of Lacedæmon was much impaired, and she
 continued long in subjection to the Achæans. But the
 most deadly blow she received, was the abolition of
 the laws of Lycurgus, which she had observed for
 about 700 years.

CHAP. AS the year was on the point of expiring, Fulvi-
 XXXV. us returned to Rome to hold the consular elections.
 He transferred the fasces to M. Val. Messala, and C.
 Livius Salinator, having rejected the clame of M.
 Æmilius Lepidus, his professed enemy, who was a
 candidate that year. Then Q. Marcius Philippus,
 M. Claud. Marcellus, C. Stertinus, C. Atinius, P.
 Claudius Pulcher, and L. Manlius Acidinus, were
 chosen

chosen prætors. When the elections were over Fulvius was ordered back to his province, both he and his colleague Manlius being continued in commission another year. In the temple of Hercules a statue was erected this year to that God, by the direction of the decemvirs; and Scipio Africanus placed in the capitol a gilded chariot drawn by six horses in honor of Jupiter, with this inscription, *I made this present during my consulate.* The curule ædiles P. Claudius and Ser. Sulpicius Galba hung up in Jupiter's temple twelve bucklers of brass, purchased with the fines levy'd upon the cornfactors for raising the price of it. Q. Fulvius Flaccus a plebeian ædile erected two gilded statues bought with the fine of a single criminal. His colleague A. Cæcilius condemned none, for they had separate courts. The Roman games were celebrated thrice, and the plebeian five times over. The new consuls entered into their office on the 15th of march, and moved the senate to regulate the armies and provinces. No alteration was made with regard to Ætolia and Asia. The new consular provinces were Pisa with Liguria, and Gaul. The consuls were desired either to draw lots or agree between themselves about them, and to raise new armies, two legions apiece with 15000 Latin foot and 1200 horse. Messala got Liguria and Salinator Gaul. Then the prætors drew lots. Marcellus got the jurisdiction of citizens; Pulcher, that of foreigners; Philippus, Sicily; Stertinius, Sardinia; Acidinus, Hither Spain; and Atinius, Farther Spain.

M. Val.
Messala, C.
Liv. Salina-
tor, consuls.
Y. of R. 564.
B. J. C. 188.

THE command of the armies was disposed of in the following manner. Tuccius the pro-prætor was to get the legions out of Gaul, that had served there under C. Lælius, sent to him into Bruttium. The army in Sicily was to be discharged, and M. Sempronius the pro-prætor was to bring the fleet stationed there back to Italy. For the two Spains, the legions already in each of them were assigned, and that the two prætors should demand of the allies and carry with them 3000 foot and 200 horse, to recruit their
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respective armies. Before the new magistrates could set out for their provinces, by order of the college of decemvirs, supplications were ordered to be made for three days in all the cross streets, because an eclipse of the sun had happened between nine and ten of the morning. A novendiale was also ordered, because it had rained stones on mount Aventine. As the censors had, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, obliged the Campanians to come to Rome and be taxed, they petitioned for liberty to marry Roman women, to have the Roman wives any of them had married before, and that the children born in these marriages before that day should be legitimate and deemed their lawful heirs. Their suit was granted. C. Valerius Tappus, a plebeian tribune, brought in a bill for granting the right of suffrage to the people of the municipal towns of Formiæ and Funda, and also to those of Arpi, who formerly had the freedom of the city without that right. Four of his colleagues opposed the bill, because it had been brought in without the sanction of the senate: but being shewn that the people and not the senate had the right to confer this privilege on whom they pleased, they dropt their opposition. The bill passed, and the Formians and Fundans were to vote in the Æmilian tribe, and the Arpinates, in the Cornelian. Thus by the Valerian law these people were the first time registered in these tribes. The censor Marcellus, having got the preference of his colleague Quinctius by lot, closed the lustrum. As soon as the lustrum was finished the consuls set out for their provinces.

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XXXVII.

DURING the winter in which these things passed at Rome, the ambassadors of all the states and nations on this side mount Taurus, came to congratulate Manlius in his winter quarters. For if the defeat of Antiochus was more glorious and reputable to the Romans than that of the Gauls, so the latter gave the allies more joy than the former; being under the slavery of kings seeming more supportable to them, than the ferocity of those wild barbarians, who,

who, like an impetuous tempest, ready to fall on one part or other of their country, kept them in continual alarm. Thus, as the driving Antiochus out of that country had procured them liberty, and the defeat of the Gauls peace, these states came not merely to pay their compliments of gratulation, but brought more solid testimonies of their joy, crowns of gold each according to their ability. Antiochus also sent embassadors to him, as did the Gauls, to know the conditions on which he would grant them peace. Ariarathes, king of Capadocia, sent likewise to beg pardon and atone for his fault in assisting Antiochus. He was ordered to pay 200 talents of silver. The Gauls were answered, that as soon as Eumenes should arrive the conditions of peace should be prescribed. The deputies of the states had very obliging answers made them, and went away with greater joy than they came. He ordered those of Antiochus to send the money and corn, in pursuance of the stipulation with Scipio, into Pamphylia, whither he was to repair with the army. Early in the spring, after having reviewed the troops, he set out, and in eight days arrived at Apamea. There he staid three days, and from thence in three more arrived in Pamphylia, where he had ordered the money and corn to be brought. He received 2500 talents of silver and sent it to Apamea. The corn he distributed to his army. Then he went to Perge^a, the only city in that country which had a garison belonging to Antiochus. On his approach, the governor met him, begging a month's time to receive advice from his master about delivering it up. It was granted, and at the expiration of the time the place was evacuated. From hence he detached his brother L. Manlius with 4000 men to Oenoanda, to receive the remainder of the money which had been stipulated. And receiving advice that Eumenes with the ten commissioners from Rome were arrived at Ephesus, he led back his army to Apamea, ordering Antiochus's deputies to follow him thither.

^a Now *Pirgi*, on the *Cestrus*.

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xxxviii.

HERE, with the advice of the ten commissioners, the articles of peace with the Syrian were drawn up. An alliance shall be established between the Roman republic and Antiochus king of Syria, on the following conditions. The king shall not give passage through his territories nor those of his vassals to any nation at war with the Roman people or with his allies, and shall not aid their enemies with provisions or money, or any other assistance whatsoever; the Romans and their allies shall act in the same manner with regard to Antiochus and those subject to him. The king shall not make war upon the inhabitants of the islands, and shall not go to Europe. He shall evacuate all the cities, countries, towns, and forts, as far as the river Halys, and on this side of mount Taurus, as far as the eminences looking towards Lycaonia. No arms or machines shall be taken away from the cities, towns, and countries, ceded to the Romans; and if any thing else be taken away, the whole to be made good. The king shall not receive into the countries dependent upon him either the soldiers or subjects of king Eumenes. If any citizens of the cities and countries he abandons are either at his court, or in any other part of his kingdoms, they shall take care to return to Apamea before a certain day fixed; such of the subjects of Antiochus, as are amongst the Romans or their allies, shall be at liberty to remain with them, or to return into their own countries, at their choice. The king shall surrender to the Romans and their allies the slaves, prisoners, and deserters, that belong to them. He shall deliver up all his elephants, and shall not supply their places with others. He shall deliver up all his ships of war, with all their rigging, and shall retain only ten small vessels without decks, of which none shall have above thirty oars. Neither shall he use a single one of one bench of oars, in a war he shall make himself. The king shall not navigate beyond the promontories of Calycadnus

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or Serpedon, if not to carry the money, tribute, or hostages farther, or the embassadors he shall have sent abroad. He shall raise no soldiers amongst the nations subject to the Roman people, and shall not receive those who shall present themselves voluntarily to serve in his armies. The Rhodians and their allies shall retain the houses and other edifices, which they have in the dominions of Antiochus, upon the same foot as they possessed them before the war. They shall have liberty to sue for the payment of the sums which shall be due to them, as also to find out and clame the effects of which they shall have been deprived, and demand restitution thereof. If any of the cities Antiochus is to surrender be in the hands of those to whom he may have given them, he shall take care to make the garisons quit them, and to restore such places to those to whom they ought to belong. He shall pay the Roman people in twelve years, and at twelve equal payments, twelve thousand ^a Attic talents of silver of good alloy, of which each shall weigh fourscore pounds Roman weight, and five hundred and forty thousand modii of wheat ^b; and to king Eumenes, in the space of five years, three hundred and fifty talents, and an hundred and twenty seven more for the corn which he owes him, according to the estimate of Antiochus himself. He shall give the Romans twenty hostages, that shall be changed every three years, and which shall not be under eighteen, nor above forty five years of age. If any allies of the Roman people declare war first against Antiochus, he shall be at liberty to defend himself, and to repel force with force; on condition however that he shall not augment his dominions with any cities, either by right of conquest or alliance. If any differences arise between the allies of the Romans and Antiochus, they shall determine them amicably, or, if they chuse, by arms.' In this treaty was also inserted an article

^a 2066666 l. 17s. 10d.^b 35000 English bushels.

for delivering up Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, Mnafimachus the Acarnanian, Eubulidas and Philo the Chalcidians; and that if it should be necessary to add to, retrench from, or make any alteration in these conditions, both sides should be at liberty to do so, provided it was with their mutual consent.

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XXXIX.

THE consul ratified the treaty by oath, and sent Q. Minucius Thermus and L. Manlius, who happened to be returned from Ochoanda to make Antiochus do the same. Then he sent a written order to Labeo, admiral of the fleet, to repair to Patara directly, and burn or destroy all the king's ships he should find there. The admiral set sail from Ephesus, and burnt or destroy'd fifty decked vessels. In the same expedition he took Telmissus, where the inhabitants were terribly alarm'd at the sudden arrival of the Roman fleet. Having left orders for the ships he left at Ephesus to follow him, he sailed from Lycia along the islands of Greece. He staid a few days at Athens, waiting the coming up of the rest, and then returned to Italy with the whole fleet. Manlius having, among other things, received all Antiochus's elephants, made a present of them to Eumenes. Then he took cognizance of the condition of the cities, in which the late troubles had occasioned great changes. King Ariarathes was exempted from paying half the sum which had been imposed on him, and received into the alliance of the Romans, out of respect to Eumenes, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage about that time. When the condition of each of the cities was heard, the ten commissioners treated them very differently. Those, which had paid tribute to Antiochus, and had declared for the Romans, were made free. Such as had adhered to the Syrian, or been tributary to Attalus, were subjected to Eumenes. Colophon, in Notium, Cymæ, and Mylasa^a were particularly made free. Besides exemption from all tribute the

^a Now *Mess*, a maritime city of *Caria*.

Clazomenians were presented with the island of Drymusa¹. The sacred territory was restored to the Milesians. The Ilians had Rhœteum and Gergithum, not so much in reward for recent services, as because the Romans were originally descended from them. Upon the same consideration Dardanum was set free. The Chians, Smyrnæans, and Erythræans, had lands and other marks of honor confer'd on them for their distinguished zeal for the Romans in that war. The Phocæans had the lands they possessed before the war restored to them, and were allowed the free enjoyment of their laws. The donations made to the Rhodians by the first decree of the senate, of Lycia and Caria as far as the river Meander, except Telmissus, were confirmed to them. To Eumenes's dominions were added the Chersonesus in Europe, Lyfimachia, with all the castles, villages and lands which Antiochus had possessed in those parts; in Asia both the Phrygias as well that bordering on the Hellespont, as the other, which is called the Great. They likewise restored him Mysia, which Prusias had taken from him; and particularly, Lycaonia, Mylias, Lydia, Trallis, Ephesus, and Telmissus. Eumenes had some dispute with the Syrian deputies about Pamphylia, one part of which lay on this side mount Taurus and another beyond it; but the decision of it was left to the senate.

AFTER having ratify'd the treaties, and passed the above decrees, Manlius, with the ten commissioners and all the army, set out for the Hellespont. Hither he summoned the Gallic princes, and let them know the conditions of peace they were to observe with Eumenes. He expressly insisted, that they should confine themselves within their own territories, without making hostile incursions as usual upon all the countries round. After this he drew together all the ships on the coast, and joining with them Eumenes's fleet, which his brother Athenæus brought from Elæa, he repassed with all his army into Europe.

¹ In the gulph of Smyrna.

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XL.

Then leading his troops laden with all sorts of booty, by easy marches through Chersonesus, he halted some time at Lyfimachia, to give the carriage beasts rest, that they might be fresh and sound for the rout of Thrace, which the soldiers commonly dreaded very much. The same day he set out from Lyfimachia, he arrived on the banks of the Mela^a, and the next day at Cypsela. From thence for ten miles his rout lay through a forest, where the roads were both narrow and rough. On account of these difficulties he divided his army into two bodies. The baggage he put between the two columns, which were at a great distance, with the waggons that carry'd the public money and other rich booty. Thus he entered the wood, when on a sudden 10000 Thracians, of Aftius, Cænus, Madytis and Coelos, assembled at the entrance to it. It was believed that Philip had secretly influenced them to this, as he knew the Romans had a rich booty, and could not return by any other rout than that of Thrace. Manlius was with the first column, and was continually uneasy about the danger he run in this narrow place. The Thracians did not move till the soldiers had passed. But as soon as they perceived the first division had passed the defile, and the second not yet arrived at it, they fell upon the baggage. They killed the guards, rifled some of the waggons, and drove off some of the carriage beasts with their burdens. As soon as the alarm reached the last column that was entering the defile, and then the first, they met in the middle, and fought a tumultuous battle. The Thracians were exposed to slaughter by being encumbered with the loads of booty, and being for the most part unarmed, that they might have the free use of their hands to catch the prey; while the roughness of the ground, the enemy's charging through ways they were acquainted with, and sometimes lurking in deep valleys, exposed the Romans. Even the waggons and other carriages screened sometimes one party and sometimes the other.

^a *La Mera* falls into the gulph of *Mela*.

Here was to be seen a robber, and there a Roman killed. The success of the skirmishes was various, according to the advantage or disadvantage of the ground, the courage of the combatants, or the numbers that engaged, for sometimes the Roman, and sometimes the Thracian detachments were most numerous. Many were slain on both sides. At last night coming on the Thracians marched off, not to avoid wounds and death, but because they had got booty sufficient to enrich them.

THE first column of the Romans encamped in the open field near the temple of Diana^a. The second continued in the forest to guard the baggage, and secured themselves with a double trench. Next day, after having reconnoitred the wood, they came and joined the first. Besides the loss of great part of the booty, several soldiers and many sutlers, for the battle was spread all over the defile, they sustained the greatest by the death of Q. Minucius Thermus, a brave and able officer. That day they encamped on the banks of the Hebrus^b. Then they entered the country of the Ænians, and passed by a temple of Apollo, called Zerinthius. About Tempyra^c they came up with another defile, no less rough than the former; but there were no forests to cover an ambush. The Thrausians were assembled there in hopes of booty. But the valley being quite naked discovered them afar off, and the Romans were not in the least alarmed or uneasy at it: For notwithstanding the roughness of the ground they could make a large front, and fight in an open field. In consequence being marshall'd in close order they came on with a great shout, and dislodged the enemy at the first attack. They soon turned their backs, and as the defile rendered their flight difficult, great slaughter was made of them. Then the victorious Romans encamped at the village Sare in Maronea. Next day

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XII.

^a The Thracians call this Goddess Bendis. *Hæmus*, runs through *Thrace* and falls into the *Ægean* sea.

^b *La Mariza* rises near mount ^c *Impara*,

they

CHAP. they entered the large open country of Prias. Here
 XLI. they halted three days to provide forage and corn.
 They had some from Maronea, and some from their own fleet, which coasted along by them. Then in one day they arrived at Apollonia^a, and from thence passed through the territories of the Abderites, at Neapolis^c. All this way he marched unmolested through the Greek colonies. But all the rest of their rout through Thrace, both night and day, if not dangerous, was at least suspected, till they arrived in Macedonia. When Scipio led his army by the same rout, he had found the Thracians more tractable; for no other reason but because he had less booty to entice them to hostilities. Yet even then the historian Claudius says, that Mutines, being detached before with 400 Numidian horse and some elephants to scour the country, encountered 15000 Thracians. His son broke through them with 100 chosen horse, and, when his father attacked them in front with the elephants in his center, and the cavalry to support them on each wing, he charged them in the rear. Being routed in this skirmish of the cavalry, which fell on them like a sudden storm, they never reached the legions which composed Scipio's main body. Manlius led his army through Macedonia into Thesfaly. From thence through Epirus to Apollonia, where he wintered, as it was not a proper season to expose his army at sea.

CHAP. TOWARDS the end of the year the consul
 XLII. Valerius returned from Liguria to preside at the election of new magistrates. He came later than usual, without having performed any memorable action that could furnish him with a colorable pretext for his stay. The consular comitia were held on the 18th of February, and the fasces were confer'd on M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius. Next day, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, Q. Terentius Culleo, L. Terentius Massaliota, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, and M. Furius Crassipes, were elected

^a Between *Abderos* and *Maronea*.

^c Now *Christopoli*, between the mouths of the *Nessos* and *Strymon*.

prætors. As soon as the elections were finished the consul moved the senate to assign the prætors their provinces. Two were ordered to stay and administer justice at Rome, two to go to Sicily and Sardinia, and two to remain in Italy, one at Tarentum and another in Gaul. They were ordered to draw lots, before they entered into office. Galba got the jurisdiction of the city; Culleo, that over foreigners; Massaliota, Sicily; Flaceus, Sardinia; Pulcher, Tarentum; and Crassipes, Gaul. This year L. Minucius Myrtilus and L. Manlius, accused of having insulted the Carthaginian ambassadors, were by the order of the prætor M. Claudius delivered up to them by feciales and carry'd to Carthage. The report of great preparations for war making in Liguria increased daily. Accordingly, when the senate took under deliberation the destination of the consular provinces, they allotted Liguria to them both. Lepidus expressed great dissatisfaction with this decree. 'It is shameful, said he, to shut up both consuls in the valleys of Liguria. During two years M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius have reign'd, the one in Europe and the other in Asia, in room of Philip and Antiochus. Since it was thought proper to have armies in these countries, consuls ought, rather than private persons, to have been put at the head of them. The pro-consuls had spread the terror of the Roman arms among nations against whom no war had been declared, and sold them peace for gold. Since it was necessary to keep up two armies in these provinces, as M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius had succeeded M. Acilius and L. Scipio, so the new consuls ought to have succeeded them. And now the war was terminated in Ætolia, Antiochus stript of Asia, and the Gauls subdued, he hoped they would either send the consuls to command these armies, or send for them home, and restore them to the state.' Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the senate adhered to their decree, that they should both have Liguria. However they ordered, that Manlius and Fulvius should quit

CHAP.
XLII.M. Æmil.
Lepidus and
C. Flaminius,
consuls.
Y. of R. 565.
B. J. C. 187.

quit the provinces and return to Rome with their armies.

CHAP.

XLIII.

LEPIDUS and M. Fulvius were declared enemies. Besides the former was sensible, that the latter had prevented his being chosen consul two years before. Out of resentment therefore he made the Ambracian deputies accuse Fulvius, and after having given them their lesson, introduced them to the senate. They complained, ' that he had declared war against ' them when they were at peace, though they had ' punctually executed the orders of the preceding ' consuls, and were ready to make him the same ' submissions. He had laid waste their lands, and ' threatn'd to rifle and sack them. So that they ' had been obliged to shut their gates to prevent it. ' He had besieged and storm'd their city, exercising ' all kinds of cruelty against them, massacre, fire, ' ruin and devastation : their wives and children were ' drag'd into slavery, their effects carry'd away, and ' what grieved them most of all, their temples had ' been stript of all their fine decorations ; the images ' of their Gods, nay the very Gods themselves had ' been pulled from their shrines, and carry'd away, ' nothing being left but bare walls and naked columns : So that the wretched Ambracians had no ' Gods to worship, no shrines to which to address ' their prayers and supplications.' As they poured out these complaints, the consul, by asking them questions, the answers to which he had before concerted with them, drew them on to say much more, as if it had been involuntarily. These complaints seeming to have made an impression upon the fathers, the other consul C. Flaminius thought himself obliged to defend Fulvius. ' The Ambracians, ' said he, tread in a beaten track. They have the ' example of the Syracusans, who accused Marcellus, ' and the Campanians, who arraigned Q. Fulvius. ' In the same manner they would suffer T. Flaminius to be accused by Philip, Acilius and Scipio by Antiochus, C. Manlius by the Gauls, and this ' very

very Fulvius by the Ætolians and Cephallenians. CHAP.
 Do you think, conscript fathers, that either I in XLIII.
 name of Fulvius, or Fulvius himself, will deny,
 that Ambracia was besieged and taken, that the
 images and decorations were carried thence, and
 that it suffered the other calamities that captive ci-
 ties usually do? Will he not demand the reward of
 a triumph for these exploits? Will he not carry the
 plan of captive Ambracia, the images he is accused
 of having taken away, and the other booty before
 his chariot in the procession? nay, will he not fix
 them on the posts of his house as a monument to
 posterity? In vain do ye, Ambracians, attempt to
 separate your cause from that of the Ætolians: 'Tis
 the same. Let then my colleague shew his spite in
 some other way, or, if he will do it in this, let him
 keep his Ambracians till the arrival of Fulvius. I
 will not suffer any thing to be determined in the af-
 fair of the Ambracians or Ætolians in his absence.'

ÆMILIUS then accused his adversary of crafty CHAP.
 malice notorious to all men, and said he would pro- XLIV.
 tract the time, on purpose that he might not come
 to Rome while his enemy was consul. This debate
 lasted two days. However he saw he could not ob-
 tain a definitive sentence, as long as Flaminius was
 present. At last he took advantage of Fulvius's un-
 fortunately falling sick abroad, and moved the senate
 who passed a decree, ' by which all the Ambracians
 effects were to be restored to them, with the enjoy-
 ment of their liberties and laws, with permission to
 impose customs and duties on what they pleased
 both by sea and land, provided the Romans and
 their Latine allies should be exempted. As to the
 statues and other decorations, which they complain-
 ed had been taken away, they thought proper to
 wait the return of Fulvius, and leave the decision
 of it to the college of pontifs.' The consul was
 not content with this, but one day, when few mem-
 bers were in the house, got a clause added to the de-
 cree, ' that they judged Ambracia had not been tak-
 en

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‘en by force of arms.’ After this supplications were made for three days, by order of the decemvirs, because a grievous pestilence raged both in city and country. Then the *feriæ latinæ* were celebrated. The consuls having discharged these duties of religion, and completed the levies, (for they both chose to have new armies) they set out for their province, where they disbanded the old army. After the consuls were gone, Cn. Manlius the pro-consul arrived at Rome. The prætor Sulpicius summoned the senate to give him audience in the temple of Bellona. After he had given a detail of his exploits, he demanded that thanks should be returned to the immortal Gods for his success, with permission to enter the city in triumph. A majority of the ten commissioners, who had been with him, but in particular L. Furius Purpureo, and L. Æmilius Paullus, opposed his requests.

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‘We were sent, said they, as commissioners into Asia, that in concert with Manlius we might put the last hand to the treaty of peace with Antiochus, which had been set on foot by L. Scipio. Cn. Manlius labored all he could to prevent the conclusion of that peace, and treacherously to have entrapped Antiochus, if he would have put himself in his power. Though he endeavored to ensnare him by demanding frequent conferences, yet the Syrian, aware of the consul’s treachery, not only avoided all congresses with, but even the very sight of him. He earnestly desired to pass mount Taurus, and was with difficulty restrained from putting his design in execution, by the commissioners, who implored him not to expose himself to the terrible calamities, which the Sybils had foretold should fall on them if ever they passed those fatal limits. Nevertheless he had approached it with his army, and encamped near the top of the mountain, where the constant springs issue out from different fountains. And finding no pretext for war there, as all the king’s subjects were quiet, he turned

turned his arms against the Gallo-Greeks, upon whom neither the senate or people had ordered war to be declared. Did ever any former general venture to take the like step of his own head? The wars with Antiochus, Philip, Hannibal, and the Carthaginian, are still recent. The senate consented, and the people by a solemn act ordained them; ambassadors were frequently first sent to demand satisfaction for injuries, and lastly *feciales* to declare war in form against them. Did you, Manlius, take any of those steps, necessary to make it be called the war of the Roman state, and to justify you from having acted only as a private spoiler? Nay, did you content yourself with this? Did you march directly against those you pretended were your enemies? Or did not you march and countermarch with the Roman army, following Attalus, Eumenes's brother, like a mercenary, and searching all the creeks and corners of Pisidia, Lycaonia and Phrygia, rapaciously to extort sums from the petty princes and the governors of fortresses? What quarrel had you with the people of Oenoanda? What with other states, which never injured the Romans? But, after all, pray in what manner did you prosecute this war, for your successes in which you solícite a triumph? Did you fight with the advantage of the ground, or at a seasonable time? In truth you ought in justice to demand, that thanks be returned to the immortal Gods, first because they were so kind as not to punish the army for the insolent rashness of their general, who made war against the law of nations; and then in not opposing them with men of courage, but wild beasts.

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ROMANS, do not imagine that it is only the name of these people that is mixed and compounded; for their blood and courage have long since been mixed, corrupted, and enervated. Had they been undegenerated Gauls, whom we have a thousand times fought with various success in Italy,

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would a single person have returned thence ; so imprudently did our general act ? He engaged these enemies twice with the disadvantage of the ground : twice did he marshal his army in a valley with the enemy over head, that, instead of throwing their darts from a superior post, had they come down naked on the Romans, they might have overpowered them. And what happened then ? Great is the fortune of Rome, terrible is the Roman name ! The enemy, though large bodied men, were quite stupified with the recent defeats of Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus. So terrified were they, that they were put to flight with arrows and slings ; not a single sword drew blood in the war with the Gallo-Greeks ; for like swarms of birds they flew away, frightened at the noise of the missile weapons. And, in truth, (as if fortune had thought fit to give us a sense of what would have been our fate, if we had had brave men to deal with) on our return, we fell in with a body of Thracian spoilers, who slaughtered many of us, put us to flight, and stript us of our baggage. With other brave men, there fell Q. Minucius Thermus, by whose death we sustained as great a loss as we could have done by that of Cn. Manlius, whose rashness exposed us to this misfortune. Our army, which was bringing back the royal spoils of Antiochus, was by him divided into three columns. The last in one place, the first in another, and the second where the baggage was, lodged one night among bushes in the lurking holes of wild beasts. Is it for these, Manlius, you solícite a triumph ? But, supposing you had not been shamefully defeated by the Thracians, pray, for what enemy would you triumph ? In our opinion, it should be for those whom the Roman senate and people assigned you. For it was thus a triumph was granted to M. Acilius and L. Scipio for Antiochus, and some time before to Flamininus for Philip, and Africanus for Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and Syphax. Though the

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 ' senate had consented to the war; yet those generals
 ' did not neglect the minutest formalities; they en-
 ' quired to whom it was to be notified, whether to
 ' the kings by word of mouth, or if it was suffi-
 ' cient to intimate it to some of his garisons. Will
 ' you, conscript fathers, suffer all these formalities
 ' to be dispensed with and neglected? Shall the fe-
 ' ciales be deprived of their rights? Shall their col-
 ' lege be utterly abolished? Let religion then (God
 ' forgive us) be trampled under foot; let us craze
 ' from our breasts all sense of the Deities. Does even
 ' the senators think fit that their illustrious body
 ' should no longer be consulted about making war?
 ' that the people's approbation of the war with the
 ' Gallo-Greeks should neither be asked or given?
 ' It was but the other day that the present consuls de-
 ' sired Greece and Asia for their provinces; yet when
 ' you obstinately adhered to your destination of Li-
 ' guria, they obey'd. In consequence if they suc-
 ' cede in the war, they may justly solícite a triumph
 ' from you, who gave them commission to carry it
 ' on.'

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 THUS spoke Furius and Æmilius. Manlius
 answered their invectives in the following manner.
 ' Formerly, conscript fathers, plebeian tribunes used
 ' to oppose triumphs when demanded by your gene-
 ' rals. This obliges me to return the present tribunes
 ' thanks, that either out of respect for my person, or
 ' the greatness of my exploits, they have not only ta-
 ' citly approved my triumph, but seemed disposed
 ' to propose it, if it had been necessary. I, God
 ' deliver me, have my adversaries among these ten
 ' commissioners, whom our ancestors gave to the ge-
 ' nerals to honor their victory, and regulate the con-
 ' sequences of it with wisdom and equity. L. Fu-
 ' rius and L. Æmilius, to whom I should have ap-
 ' pealed as witnesses of my services, if they had been
 ' questioned by the tribunes, prohibit me to mount
 ' the triumphal car, and pull the honorable wreath
 ' from my head. Conscript fathers, I envy nobody's
 ' glory;

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glory ; but I remember, that you interposed your authority, when some resolute and daring tribunes opposed the triumph of Q. Fabius Labeo. In consequence he did triumph, though his adversaries openly accused him, not of having made war unjustly, but of never having seen the enemy. But I, who have so often engaged 100000 warlike enemies, killed or taken prisoners 40000, driven them out of two camps, and have left all the country on this side mount Taurus in as much tranquillity as Italy enjoys, am injuriously rob'd of a triumph ; nay, conscript fathers, obliged to justify myself from the accusations of my own council. They lay two things to my charge ; that I had no right to make war with the Gallo-Greeks, and that I made it with temerity and imprudence. The Gauls, say they, committed no act of hostility ; you found them in tranquillity, and ready to submit to your commands, and yet attacked them. I am not to ask, conscript fathers, that you should believe the Asiatic Gauls have the same cruel dispositions, and that most inveterate hatred to the Romans, that you know the Gauls in general have. Would to the Gods king Eumenes, and the chief men of the states of Asia were present ! You would hear them complain aloud, and I should not be obliged to accuse the Gallo-Greeks. Let ambassadors be sent round all the Asiatic states, to enquire, whether they have been delivered from the greatest slavery, by driving Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, or by the reduction of the Gauls. Let them inform you, how many times that savage people have pillaged their lands, how oft they have carried off their most valuable effects ; how they would not suffer them to ransom their prisoners ; how oft they have heard of their sacrificing their children to their Gods. You know your allies were tributary to the Gauls, and even now, after you had freed them from the domination of Antiochus, they would be so, had not I marched against their savage oppressors.

• THE

THE farther Antiochus was removed, the more would the Gauls have lorded it in Asia, and instead of becoming your's, all Asia on this side mount Taurus would have become an accession of dominion to the Gauls. But, perhaps, some will ask, if all these things are true. Nay, these Gauls formerly spoiled the temple at Delphos, situate in the heart of the earth, and the common oracle of the world; and yet for all that, the Roman people neither denounced or made war upon them. In truth I think there is great difference between those days when Greece and Asia were not under your jurisdiction, that you needed to be solicitous about, or take cognizance of, what happened there, and the present, in which you have made mount Taurus the limit of your empire; in which you have granted their cities freedom and immunity; in which you have enlarged the territories of some, deprived others of theirs, and made some your tributaries; in which you enlarge, diminish, give and take away kingdoms; in which you think it incumbent on you to establish peace and tranquillity there. Were you convinced that Asia could not be free till Antiochus evacuated the fortresses, where his garisons remained without giving any disturbance? And could you believe that Eumenes could peaceably enjoy the gifts you have made him, and the other states the liberty you gave them, while the Gauls were free to spread terror and desolation wherever they pleased? But why do I endeavor to confute a false supposition, as if I had not found the Gauls actually in arms against us, but forced them to take them up. To you, L. Scipio, whom I succeeded in the command of the army, and whom I pray'd the immortal Gods, and that not in vain, I might equal in valor and good fortune, I appeal; and to you, Africanus, who was considered by your brother and his troops rather as a colleague than a lieutenant. Say, illustrious generals, do not you know that the Gallo-Greeks served in Antiochus's army? Did ye not see them posted on both wings,

in which they constituted the strength thereof? Did ye not fight with and kill them as real enemies? Did ye not carry off their spoils? And all this, when the senate and people had declared war against Antiochus by name only, and not against the Gauls. But, if I mistake not, they were comprehended in that declaration, as they were of the number of his auxiliaries; all of whom, except the Syrian himself, with whom Scipio had made peace by name, agreeable to your express orders, were our enemies, since they bore arms under Antiochus against us. Though the Gauls were the principal in this cause, as well as some petty sovereigns and tyrants of that country, yet I, for the honor of our state, made peace with the others, after having made them make satisfaction for their offence, and used my utmost endeavors to mollify the natural ferocity of the former. But when I found them still untractable and implacable, then I thought it necessary to reduce them by force of arms. After having thus justified the motives which determined me to undertake this war, I must next give an account of the manner in which I prosecuted it. In this point I am confident of gaining my cause, though I were to plead it before, not the Roman, but the Carthaginian senate, who crucify their generals, when they have formed rash enterprizes, however successful in the event. But, thanks to heaven, I have to do with a republic, which applies to the Gods in undertaking and prosecuting all their enterprizes, that none may dare to inveigh against what the Gods have before approved; and which, in decreeing thanksgivings to the Gods and triumphs to the generals, always use this remarkable expression, FOR HAVING WELL AND SUCCESSFULLY SERVED THE COMMONWEALTH. In this city, if I should decline, nay, if I thought it would provoke envy, or savor of arrogance, to boast of my valor and conduct; if I should content myself, after having vanquished so powerful a nation with-

‘ out any loss, with asking that thanks should be re-
 ‘ turned to the immortal Gods, and that I should be
 ‘ permitted in triumph to enter the capitol, from
 ‘ whence I set out, after having made the customary
 ‘ vows, would you refuse that honor to the immor-
 ‘ tal Gods and to me? Yes, you’ll answer, because
 ‘ you fought with the disadvantage of the ground.’

‘ TELL me, pray, how I could have prevent-
 ‘ ed that. Had not the enemy seized and entrench-
 ‘ ed themselves on the tops of the mountains? Was
 ‘ it not absolutely necessary that I should attack them
 ‘ in this post, if I intended to defeat them? How!
 ‘ supposing their city had stood there, and they had
 ‘ kept within it: Must I not have laid siege to it?
 ‘ How! Had Acilius the advantage of the ground
 ‘ when he attacked Antiochus at the pass of Ther-
 ‘ mopylæ? Did not Flaminius defeat Philip en-
 ‘ trenched on the mountains above the river Aous?
 ‘ I do not yet rightly comprehend what idea they
 ‘ would frame to themselves, or give you, of the
 ‘ enemy. If they are degenerated and enervated by
 ‘ the pleasures of Asia, where was the danger in at-
 ‘ tacking them, when advantageously posted over
 ‘ our heads? If they were formidable for their fe-
 ‘ rocious courage and strength of body, can you just-
 ‘ ly refuse a triumph to him who has gained a com-
 ‘ plete victory over these terrible enemies? Envy is
 ‘ blind, conscript fathers; it’s sole view is to detract
 ‘ from virtue, and to deprive it of it’s merited honor
 ‘ and praise. Pardon me, fathers, if, not from an
 ‘ immodest desire to boast of my exploits, but the
 ‘ necessity I lye under of vindicating myself from
 ‘ their accusations, I exceed the bounds of a mode-
 ‘ rate speech. Was it in my power to make the de-
 ‘ files of Thrace large and passable, could I make
 ‘ steep and woody ground level? Could I prevent
 ‘ the Thracian banditti from hiding themselves in
 ‘ their lurking holes, the baggage from being rifled,
 ‘ or a few carriage beasts, out of so great a number,
 ‘ from being driven off? Could I have prevented

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any one from being wounded, or that brave and expert officer Q. Minucius from dying of his wounds? My adversaries insist much on your lamentable misfortune in losing so deserving an officer. But had they been silent, can they imagine, since the whole army is present to witness what I say, that you could be ignorant, how, when the enemy attacked us in a narrow and disadvantageous defile, the first and last column of my troops surrounded the barbarians, busied in rifling our baggage, killed and made prisoners many thousands of them that day, and many more a few days after? If I had not drawn a sword, if I had not seen an enemy in Asia, I had deserved a triumph for my two victories over these Thracians. But I have said enough. And, conscript fathers, I beg and hope to obtain your pardon, for having trespassed upon your patience longer than I inclined.

CHAP.

L.

THE accusation would have got the better of the defence, had not the warm debates of the senate on this occasion taken up the whole day. For the house broke up in a disposition to deny Manlius a triumph. But the next day his relations and friends exerted their utmost interest for him: Besides the authority of the seniors made the affair take a turn advantageous for him. They represented it as a thing without precedent, that a general, who had vanquished the enemy, left his province in peace, and brought back his victorious troops, should enter the city as a private person, without a chariot, without a laurel, or the least mark of distinction. By this means shame got the better of their malignant jealousy, and they almost unanimously decreed him a triumph. A much more interesting accusation of a greater and more illustrious personage made that of Manlius be soon entirely forgot. According to Valerius Antias, two tribunes, both named Q. Pætilius, prosecuted Scipio Africanus. The reflections made on this step were different, according as the authors of them were affected. Some did not only inveigh against the tribunes,

bunes, but even the whole state for suffering it. ‘ The
 ‘ two greatest cities of the universe, said they, have
 ‘ almost at the same time testify’d the highest ingra-
 ‘ titude towards their principal citizens. Of the two
 ‘ Rome is most ungrateful. For vanquished Car-
 ‘ thage had expelled a conquered Hannibal; but
 ‘ victorious Rome would banish Scipio, the author
 ‘ of her victory.’ On the contrary, others maintained,
 ‘ that no citizen, how eminent soever, ought to be
 ‘ considered as above the laws, or being accountable
 ‘ for his conduct. Nothing can tend so much to the
 ‘ maintaining liberty on a just and equal footing, as
 ‘ to oblige the most powerful citizen to take his trial
 ‘ and defend himself. Could it be safe to entrust a
 ‘ man with any thing, not to say with the public
 ‘ administration, if he was not to be accountable for
 ‘ his actions? It could not be an injustice to compel
 ‘ him, who would not suffer a fair trial.’ Nothing
 was heard but speculations of this kind till the day of
 trial came. Never did any citizen before, no, not
 Scipio himself, when consul or censor, come into the
 forum with a greater train of citizens of all ranks,
 than when he appeared at this time to take his trial.
 When he was ordered to plead, without saying a
 single word of the crimes he was indicted for, he ex-
 patiated on his exploits in so pompous a manner, that
 none had ever been praised either with more elevation
 or justice. For the same spirit and courage that had
 animated his actions appeared in his discourse; nor
 could his speech offend the nicest ears, as it proceeded
 from a necessary defence, and not from motives of
 vain glory.

THE tribunes accused him with the old crimes
 of having spent his time in luxury and voluptuousness
 at Syracuse, and the mad violences of Pleminius at
 Locri. But when they came to accuse him of pecu-
 lation, for want of solid proof, they had recourse to
 suspicions and conjectures. ‘ Romans, said they,
 ‘ Antiochus restored him his captive son without
 ‘ ransom; he paid the same Scipio as much deference

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LI.

in all other respects, as if he had been the sole arbitrer of peace and war at Rome. In the province Africanus acted more like a dictator than a lieutenant to the consul: He went thither with no other view, but to persuade the Greeks, Asiatics, and all the eastern kings and nations, as he had formerly done the Spaniards, Gauls, Sicilians and Africans, that he alone was the pillar and support of the Roman empire; that Rome, the mistress of the universe, was sheltered under the shadow of Scipio; and that his nods had taken place of the decrees of the fathers and ordinances of the people. Thus not being able to make him criminal, they endeavored to render him odious. The whole day having been taken up with the speeches, the matter was referred to another, when the tribunes ascended the tribunal by day-break. The accused being cited, attended by a great train of clients and friends, advanced through the crowd to the tribune of harangues. Silence being made, the orator thus began. 'On this very day, tribunes of the people and Romans, I vanquished Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa. Is it decent then to spend it in wranglings and prosecutions? For my part, I will go directly to the capitol, to return thanks to Jupiter the greatest and best of beings; to Juno, Minerva, and the other Deities who reside there and in the citadel, for having given me the desire and capacity to do the republic glorious service on this and many other days. Follow me, Romans, as many of you as have leisure, and earnestly pray the Gods to give you always such generals as myself. I may speak this with confidence, if it is true, that from my seventeenth year to my present advanced age, you have always anticipated the honors due to my years, as I have your favors with my services.' Upon this he left the rostra and went up to the capitol. All the assembly moved that way and followed Scipio; insomuch, that at last even the tribunes clerks and serjeants left them; and none remain'd with them except their slaves and the crier, who cited the

the accused from the rostra. Scipio, attended by all the people, not only went to the capitol, but round all the temples of the Gods in the city. This day the state in general gave a more ample testimony of their favor and esteem of his merit, than when he entered the city in triumph for Syphax and the Carthaginians.

THIS was the last of his days of glory. For after it, foreseeing the storm of envy and prosecution by the tribunes was not over, he took advantage of the trial's being delay'd, and retired to Linternum, fully resolved to appear no more to defend himself. His soul was so proud and elevated, and he had been so accustomed to move in a higher sphere, that he did not know how to stoop to that of a suppliant, and act the humble part of a person accused. When he was cited on the appointed day, L. Scipio said in his excuse, that sickness prevented his appearing. The tribunes, his prosecutors, would not sustain the apology. They pretended, that he avoided making his defence in effect of the same haughtiness, that induced him before to leave the judgment seat, the tribunes and assembly, and to deprive even his judges themselves of their right and liberty of suffrage, drawing them away like prisoners, that he might triumph for the whole Roman people, and make a secession from the tribunes into the capitol. Thus, said they, Romans, you have received a just reward of your temerity. You are now abandoned by him, who persuaded you to leave us. Our courage declines every day in such a manner, that though seventeen years ago we had resolution to send tribunes of the people with an ædile into Sicily to seize and bring back Scipio to Rome, though then at the head of an army and fleet; yet now when he is but a private person we dare not send to drag him from his country seat, to oblige him to submit to judgment. His brother L. Scipio having implored the aid of the other tribunes, they passed a decree, that since it was pleaded that the accused

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was

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‘ was absent through sickness, it was their pleasure
 ‘ the excuse should be admitted, and that their col-
 ‘ league should defer the trial.’ Ti. Sempronius
 Gracchus, Africanus’s avowed enemy, was then one
 of the tribunes. When he forbade his name to be
 inserted in the decree with that of his colleagues, every
 body expected he was going to propose a more severe
 sentence. ‘ I think, said he, it ought to suffice, that
 ‘ L. Scipio pleads his brother’s sickness, as an excuse
 ‘ for his absence. I will not suffer him to be pro-
 ‘ ceeded against till his return to Rome; and even
 ‘ then, if he implores my aid, I will grant it, to
 ‘ dispense with his making a defence. P. Scipio, by
 ‘ his exploits, the honors you have conferred upon
 ‘ him, the consent of Gods and men, is raised to
 ‘ such a pinnacle of glory, that to make him stand
 ‘ as a criminal before the rostra, and hear the in-
 ‘ vectives of young men, is a greater dishonor to the
 ‘ Roman people than to himself.’

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LIII.

‘ THEN he added with an air of indignation,
 ‘ Would you, tribunes, see Scipio, the conqueror of
 ‘ Africa, at your feet? For what did he rout and put to
 ‘ flight four illustrious Carthaginian generals with their
 ‘ four armies in Spain? For what did he take Syphax
 ‘ prisoner, conquer Hannibal, make Carthage tri-
 ‘ butary to us, and last of all drive Antiochus beyond
 ‘ mount Taurus; for even his brother is content to
 ‘ share this glory with him? Was it to sink under
 ‘ the malignity of the two Pætillii, and do you desire
 ‘ to see them triumph over him? How! will no
 ‘ merit, no honors procure an asylum and sanctuary
 ‘ to great men, where their old age, if not revered,
 ‘ may at least be inviolate?’ This tribune’s decree,
 and the speech he made after it, made an impression
 not only upon the whole assembly, but even upon
 the prosecutors. They said they would take time to
 deliberate on what would be consistent with their duty
 and authority. As soon as the assembly was dismissed
 the senate met, and that whole august body, in par-
 ticular the seniors and men of consular rank, returned
 Gracchus

Gracchus the heartiest thanks, for having sacrificed his private resentment to the public benefit. The Pætillii, on the contrary, were exceedingly reproached, for having endeavored to gain themselves reputation at the expence of virtue, and by triumphing for Africanus to deck themselves with his spoils. Thus was the prosecution of Africanus stifled. He spent the remainder of his life at Linternum without any desire to return to Rome. At his death, it is said, he ordered his body to be buried there, and a monument to be raised to him, to prevent being inter'd among his ungrateful countrymen. This great man, though distinguished in every thing that forms an illustrious character, yet excel'd in war, more than in peace. The first part of his life was more glorious than the last, because he had spent his youth solely in the field, whereas in his old age, he wanted occasions and subjects to exert the great talents nature had confer'd on him. What did his second consulate and censorship add to the glory he had acquired in the first? What additional glory derived to him from his office of lieutenant in Africa, which was render'd useless by sickness, shaded by the taking of his son, and the necessity he was under at his return, either to submit to an unjust judgment, or avoid it at the expence of renouncing his country? The grand attitudes in which his glory appears most conspicuously, is his terminating the second Punic war, the greatest and most dangerous ever Rome had sustained.

HIS death highly encouraged his enemies. The most considerable of them was M. Porcius Cato, who even during the life of that illustrious man used to sneer at his greatness. Nay it is believed that it was at their instigation that the Pætillii commenced the prosecution of Africanus when alive, and made the following motion to the people after his death. ‘ Is it your pleasure, Romans, to order enquiry to be made after the money exacted and taken away from Antiochus and his subjects, and that Ser. Sulpicius, the city prætor, move the senate to know what

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LIV.

‘ what was become of that which had not been brought into the public treasury: and that the senate may appoint any one of the present prætors, they shall think proper to make this enquiry?’ At first the two Mummii, Q. and L. opposed this motion. They alledged, that it was reasonable the senate alone, as in all former cases, should make enquiry after peculations. The Pætilli accused the Scipios of having too great an interest in the senate, where they lorded it like kings. L. Furius Purpureo, a man of consular dignity, and who had been one of the commissioners in Asia, moved that this enquiry might extend not only to the money taken from Antiochus, but to that from other kings and states, with a view to involve his enemy Manlius in the affair. L. Scipio, who, it was expected, would rather speak in his own defence than against the bill, opposed it. He complained, ‘ that it had been industriously proposed on the death of that brave and illustrious citizen Africanus. It had not sufficed, to have deprived him of a funeral oration from the rostra, but they must accuse him after his death. Even the Carthaginians had been content with banishing Hannibal, but the resentment of the Romans could not be glutted, unless they wounded Africanus’s reputation after death, and over and above sacrificed his brother.’ Cato spoke in favour of the bill, (and his speech about embezzeling the money got from Antiochus is still extant) and by his authority intimidated the Mummii so much, that they drop’d their opposition. In consequence the tribes unanimously voted for the bill.

CHAP.

LV.

W H E N Ser. Sulpicius moved the senate to appoint the judge to regulate this enquiry, agreeable to the Pætilian law, they nominated Q. Terentius Culleo. The writers who say, that Scipio died and was buried at Rome (for such a tradition there is) relate, that this prætor was pitched on, as he was so great a friend to the Scipian family, that at the funeral of Africanus, he went before the hearse with

the pileus on his head, as he had done at his triumph, and distributed wine and milk to the train at the gate Capena, as a testimony of his gratitude for having been with other prisoners released by Scipio in Africa: or was so great an enemy, that he got this office chiefly by the interest of the opposite faction, because they knew his friendship to the Scipios was only pretended. However it be, whether he was their friend or enemy, L. Scipio was immediately ordered to take his trial before him: likewise his lieutenants A. and L. Hostilii Catos, his quæstor C. Furius Aculeo, two clerks and a serjeant, who were looked upon as accomplices in the peculation. Before Scipio was condemned L. Hostilius, the two clerks and the serjeants were acquitted. Then Scipio, A. Hostilius and C. Furius were convicted. Scipio, of receiving from Antiochus, to obtain a more favorable peace for him, 6000 pound weight of gold^a, and 480 of silver^b, more than had been brought into the treasury. A. Hostilius of having received 80 pound weight of gold^c, and 403 of silver^d. Furius of having received 130 pound weight of gold^e and 200 of silver^f. I find these sums mentioned by Valerius Antias. As to the gold and silver embezzled by Scipio, I chuse rather to think that historian's copyist was guilty of an error, than that the author told a falsehood. For it is more probable, that the sum of the silver exceeded that of the gold, and that he was only fined in 40000 sesterces, rather than in 240000. I am the rather induced to believe this, as it is on record, that the senate demanded Africanus to give an account of no greater sum, and that ordering Lucius to bring his accounts, he tore them with his own hand before the eyes of the senate, being enraged that he should be called to account for 40000 sesterces, after he had brought 2000000 into the treasury. With the same confident resolution, when the quæstors durst not take money out of the treasury, because

^a At 4 l. per ounce is 288000 l.

^b At 5 s. per ounce is 1440 l.

^c 3840 l.

^d 6240 l.

^e 1209 l.

^f 600 l.

contrary to law, he demanded the keys, saying, he would unlock those doors, of the shutting of which he had been the occasion.

CHAP.

LVI.

So various are the accounts concerning the last part of Africanus's life, in particular, his trial, death, burial, and tomb, that I know not what tradition or what records to believe. They don't even agree as to his prosecutor, some saying it was one Nævius, others the Pætillii; neither as to the time of his trial, the year and place of his death, or where he was buried. Some say he died at Rome, others at Linternum, and his tomb and statue are shewn at both places. I myself lately saw at Linternum his tomb, with a statue which had been placed upon it, but had been thrown down by a storm. At Rome, without the gate Capena, where the monuments of the Scipian family stood, are three statues, said to be that of P. Scipio, L. Scipio, and of the poet Ennius. Neither do historians only differ about these facts, but even about the speeches, if indeed those which are called the speeches of P. Scipio and Tib. Gracchus be really theirs. In the title of that ascribed to Africanus is to be seen the name of Nævius, but the accuser is never named in the speech itself: He there only calls him sometimes RASCAL, and other times BABLER. Nay in Gracchus's speech the Pætillii, the accusers of Scipio, on the day of trial, are never mentioned. And indeed the narrative of the fact in this speech must be quite changed, before it can be ascribed to Gracchus. To make it suit him we must also follow those writers, who say, when L. Scipio was accused and condemn'd of taking bribes from the Syrian, that Africanus was acting as lieutenant in Hetruria, and hearing of his brother's misfortune, left his business and posted to Rome. That being told at the gate, that the affair was over, and his brother leading to prison, he went directly to the forum and drove away the officer from the prisoner; nay when the tribunes offered to obstruct him, he shew'd more regard for his brother than

than civility to those magistrates, whom he used very roughly. For even Gracchus himself complains that the tribunician authority had been infringed by a private person. And at last, when he promised his aid to L. Scipio, he added, that it was more tolerable to see the tribunician power and the commonwealth worsted by a tribune, than by a private person. But even in shewing him the odiousness of this arbitrary action of his, and reproving him for having degenerated so much from his nature, he expatiated in so ample a manner upon his former moderation and temperance, as made amends for the severity of the reproof. 'You once, said he, checked the people, when they would have made you perpetual consul and dictator. You would not suffer statues to be erected to your honor, in the comitia, rostra, senate-house, capitol, or chapel of Jupiter. You stopt their decree, for carrying your picture in triumphal procession from the temple of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings.'

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LVI.

THESE encomiums, which an enemy by way of reproach confesses, must, if spoke with a view to his praise, shew that Africanus had a peculiar greatness of soul in the moderate use of honors, which would raise him above the other members of a free state. It is agreed that the youngest of his daughters (for he had espoused the eldest to P. Cornelius Nasica) was given in marriage to this Tib. Gracchus: but it is not certain, whether before or after the death of her father; or if it is true, that this alliance was contracted in the following manner. When L. Scipio was carrying to prison, and none of the tribunes would interpose, Gracchus swore, 'that he was still as great an enemy of the Scipios as ever, and did not desire to be reconciled to them; but he would not suffer L. Scipio to be thrown into the same prison, to which he had seen his brother Africanus leading the kings and generals of their enemies.' The senators accidentally supping at night in the capitol, rose up in a body, and beg'd that Africanus would

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LVII.

would give his daughter in marriage to Gracchus in the midst of that solemn feast. The espousal was accordingly performed before the entertainment was ended. Scipio, at his return home, told his wife, that he had promised his youngest daughter in marriage. The lady, highly offended, that she had not been consulted in disposing of her daughter, answered, if he had promised her to Tib. Gracchus, he ought to have communicated it to a mother. Africanus, charmed to find her sentiments agree with his own, replied, that he had disposed of her to that very man. This much I thought necessary to relate concerning this great man, notwithstanding the disagreement among historians, and the different accounts of him in other writings.

CHAP.
LVIII.

WHEN the prætor Culleo had finished the enquiry, two of the condemned persons, Hostilius and Furius, gave security to the city quæstors that very day. But when L. Scipio pleaded that he had carried all the money he had received into the treasury, and that he had nothing belonging to the public, they were on the point of dragging him to prison. Upon this P. Nafica implored the aid of the tribunes, and made a very magnificent eulogium on the Cornelian house in general, and of his own branch of it in particular. ‘Africanus, Asiaticus, who is to be imprisoned, and myself, are descended from Cneius and Publius Scipios, two illustrious generals, who, after having for many years augmented the reputation of the Roman name in the war with the Carthaginian and Spanish generals with their armies in Spain, not only by their military abilities, but by giving those nations the first specimens of Roman moderation and faith, fell both at last fighting strenuously to sustain the cause of Rome. Though it would have been honor sufficient for their children to have kept up their reputation, yet Africanus had so far outstripped them in glory, as to convince mankind, that his original was rather divine than human. As to Asiaticus, who is at present in question,

question, not to mention his exploits in Spain and Africa, as his brother's lieutenant, let us view him when consul. The senate conceived him worthy of

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having the province of Asia, and the war with Antiochus, without casting lots, and accordingly passed a decree for that purpose. His brother had so great an esteem for him, that he went in quality of his lieutenant, after he had been twice consul, censor, and enjoy'd the most magnificent triumph. That the great and resplendent glory of the lieutenant might not eclipse the merit of the consul, fortune ordered it so, that the very day on which L. Scipio defeated Antiochus at Magnesia, Africanus lay sick at Elæa, several days journey from the former. He there vanquished an army in no respect inferior to Hannibal's in Asia. In this battle, besides other able generals under the king, Hannibal, that famous captain in the Carthaginian war, was present in person; nay, every thing was so wisely conducted, that there was not even room to accuse fortune. Now when they enjoy'd the fruits of it, peace, they sought pretexts for accusing him, and finding none, falsely supposed he had sold it. Does not this accusation extend to the ten commissioners, by whose advice the peace was concluded? Even some of these commissioners have accused Manlius, but without having the satisfaction of either being believed, or being able to stop his triumph.

BUT it is pretended, that the conditions of peace being too favorable for Antiochus, furnish ground of suspicion. His whole kingdom, say

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LIX.

they, has been left him, and by being conquered he has lost nothing that he possessed before the war; that the general received large sums of silver and gold, and yet brought no part of them into the exchequer, having appropriated them to his own use. Was not as great a quantity of gold and silver, before all our eyes, carried on the day of Asiaticus's procession, as the whole spoils of ten other tri-

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LIX.

triumphs put together could not equal? Must I mention the bounds of the Syrian's dominions? Did he not before possess all Asia, and the countries of Europe adjacent to it? Every person knows, that the country from mount Taurus to the Ægean sea forms a great part of the universe, and contains a vast number, not only of cities, but nations. Yet this country, above thirty days journey in length and ten in breadth between the two seas, has been taken from Antiochus as far as mount Taurus, and he has been driven into the remotest corners of the world. Suppose peace had not been sold him, could a greater part of his dominions have been taken from him? Philip, when conquered, had Macedonia left him; and Nabis, in like circumstances, had Sparta. Flaminius had not been accused for this, because he had not a brother like Africanus, whose merit drew envy upon him, when it ought to have protected him from calumny. L. Scipio is condemned for having appropriated to himself a greater sum, than his whole effects, were they to be sold, could repay. Where then can be the gold which he received from Antiochus? Where are the purchases he has made with it? In a house, where things are not squandered in luxury, so considerable an accession of wealth would be visible. But his enemies, not finding his effects amount to so much as would repay what he is condemned in, want to satiate their envy by exposing his body to infamous and intolerable punishments. They would shut up this illustrious person in the same prison with thieves and assassins, and leave him to expire bound in a dungeon, to be afterwards thrown out naked at the prison doors. Such ungenerous treatment ought to make the Roman people blush, rather than the Cornelian family.

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LX.

ON the other hand, the prætor Terentius read the Pætilian law, the decree of the senate, and the sentence passed against Scipio, insisting, that if he did not cause the sum in which he had been condemned

to be paid in to the exchequer, he could not dispense with ordering him to be apprehended, and led to prison. The tribunes retired to deliberate, and soon after Fannius returned, declaring for himself and colleagues, except Gracchus, that they would not oppose the execution of the sentence, and that the prætor was at liberty to act as he pleased. Then Gracchus said, ‘ I don’t oppose the prætor’s selling Scipio’s effects for the payment of the sum he is condemned in ; but I will not suffer to be imprisoned, among the enemies of our state, a general, who has conquered the most powerful king of the earth, extended the limits of the Roman empire to the extremities of the universe, firmly united to us Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other states of Asia, by the favors he conferred on them ; and, last of all, had led so many generals of the enemy in triumph, and to prison : I therefore order him to be set at liberty.’ This decree was received with so great applause, and Scipio’s liberty gave the whole assembly so much joy, that they did not seem to have been the same people who had condemned him.

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LX.

Then the prætor sent the quæstors to confiscate the effects of L. Scipio, which, by his being condemned of a public crime, belonged to the treasury. They not only did not find the least vestige of the king’s money, but not even so much as would pay his fine. His relations, friends and clients, contributed so vast a sum, that had he accepted of it, he would have been richer than he was before his misfortunes. But he refused it. However his relations and friends redeemed as many of his effects as were necessary for his living with decency. The public odium retorted upon the prætor, the judges, and the accusers.

BOOK XXXIX.

The consul Æmilius, after having subdued the Ligurians, paves the road from Placentia to Ariminum, till it meets with the Flaminian way. Voluptuousness first introduced at Rome by the Asiatic army. All the Ligurians on this side the Apennines subdued. The Bacchanalia, a Greek festival held in the night, wherein every kind of wickedness is practised, rising to an intolerable head, is enquired into by the consul, and suppressed, but not without the punishment of many. The censors, L. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Porcius Cato, a man of extraordinary abilities, both as a statesman and soldier, deprive L. Flamininus, brother of T. Quinctius, of his seat in the senate, because when he commanded in Gaul in quality of consul, at the desire of a famous pathic, Philip Pœnus, on whom he doted, he had killed a Gaul with his own hand; or, according to some historians, he had cut off the head of a criminal at the desire of a Placentine courtesan, of whom he was extremely fond. Cato's speech against him still extant. Scipio Africanus dies at Linternum. And, as if fortune had taken delight to join the greatest generals in the world, even in their deaths, Hannibal, who, after the defeat of Antiochus, had fled for shelter to Prusias king of Bithynia, being on the point of being delivered up to the Romans, who had sent T. Flamininus to demand him, poisons himself: Philopœmen likewise, general of the Achæans, and a man of great abilities, is poisoned by the Messenians, who had taken him prisoner. Colonies settled at Pollentia, Pisaurum, Mutina and Parma. Besides in this is an account of the success of the Roman arms against the Celtiberians, and the first causes of the second Macedonian war, which is owing to Philip's resentment to the Romans for lessening his dominions, and obliging him to evacuate Thrace and other places.

CHAP.

I.

DURING these transactions at Rome (though we are not certain they all passed this year) both the consuls prosecuted the war in Liguria. This nation seemed destined to keep up the discipline of the Roman arms, during the intervals of more important wars. No province was so proper as this to give an edge to the soldiers valor. For Asia, by the delights of it's cities, the plenty of all things with which both sea and land furnished it, the effeminacy of the enemy they had to deal with, and the wealth received from it's king, had indeed made the Roman army richer, but less warlike. In particular they had

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indulged in licentiousness and negligence under Cn. Manlius. By this means they suffered a considerable defeat in Thrace, where the ways were more rugged, and the enemy more experienced in arms. In Liguria every thing kept the soldiers constantly employ'd and on their guard; a rough country full of mountains, which even, when defenceless, could not be taken without much labor, and still more difficult to dislodge an enemy from, after they had once seized them: the passes were narrow and steep, and infested with ambushes; the enemy light and nimble, who fell upon them when least expected, and never suffered them to remain in quiet or security at any time or in any place. The strong fortresses they were under a necessity of attacking exposed them to great fatigue and dangers. Besides, the country being poor and barren, obliged the soldiers to live hardily, without furnishing them much booty. For this reason no sutlers, no long train of carriage beasts followed the army, nothing was to be seen but accoutrements, and men, whose sole dependance was on their arms. Last of all, there never was wanting either matter or just ground of war with them; for the poverty of their country drove them to make continual incursions upon the lands of their neighbors, and they never hazarded their whole strength at once.



THE consul C. Flaminius several times defeated the Ligurians, called Friniates^a, in their own country; and having reduced them to submit, disarmed the nation. But when he was on the point of calling them to account for having concealed great part of them, they abandoned their villages, and fled to mount Auginus^b. The consul immediately followed them. But they fled with precipitation a second time, most of them unarmed, over impassable rocks and precipices, where the enemy could not pursue them, till they had passed the Apennines. Such as remained in their camp, were surrounded and taken. Then the Romans passed the Apennines.

^a Frignana.^b Monte Codro.

CHAP.

II.

The Ligurians defended themselves for some time upon the eminence which they had seized, but soon surrendered. Stricter search was then made after their arms, which were all taken away. Then he marched against the Ligurians called Apuani, who made such frequent incursions upon the lands of Pisa and Bologna, that it had not been possible to sow them. By reducing them he secured tranquillity to the neighboring parts. In consequence, having no war in his province, that his troops might not be idle, he employ'd them to pave a road from Bologna to Aretium. The other consul Æmilius burnt and laid waste the lands and villages of the Ligurians that lay in the plains, while the inhabitants kept upon two mountains, Ballista and Susimons. Then he attacked them on these eminences. At first he only harassed them with slight skirmishes; but at last forced them to a pitched battle, in which he vowed a temple to Diana. Having subdued all the people on this side of the Apennines, he marched against those on the other side, where his colleague had not attacked the people of Brinia*. Æmilius reduced and disarmed them all, and then obliged them to leave the mountains, and come down to the plains. Having reinstated peace in Liguria, he entered the territories of the Gauls, and made a road from Placentia to Ariminum, where it joined the Flaminian way. In the last battle he fought with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Juno queen of the Gods. These were the memorable actions performed in Liguria this year.

CHAP.

III.

FURIUS the prætor in Gaul, seeking pretexts for war in time of peace, disarmed the Cenomani, who had committed no act of hostility. They made their complaint to the senate, who remitted them to the consul Æmilius, whom they had commissioned to take cognizance of, and settle that affair. After a hard contest with the prætor, they got the better of him. Their arms were restored to them, and Furius ordered to quit the province. After this the se-

* Monte Cervero.

† Monte Penese.

‡ Now Brignolo.

nate gave audience to the deputies of their allies, who flocked from all parts of Latium, to complain that great numbers of their people had settled at Rome, and were register'd there. An enquiry into this affair was entrusted to Q. Terentius Culleo. He was ordered to inspect the census roll of C. Claudius and M. Livius, and of all succeeding cenfors, and to send home to their own country, whomever the allies should prove to have been registered at Rome, either in their own persons, or by their parents, during that time. This enquiry sent home 12000 Latines, and discharged Rome of a multitude of strangers, who then were a burthen to it.

BEFORE the consuls returned to Rome, M. Fulvius the pro-consul arrived from Ætolia. He had audience of the senate in the temple of Apollo, and after giving an ample detail of his exploits in Ætolia and Cephallenia, he petitioned to order thanks to be returned to the immortal Gods, and grant himself a triumph. But M. Abutius, a tribune of the people, would interpose his authority, if they should make any decree on that subject before the arrival of the consul Æmilius. 'He, said the tribune, has reasons to oppose it, and at his departure for his province desired, I might suffer no resolution to be taken in that respect till his return. This delay will not be prejudicial to the pro-consul, for the senate will be at liberty to determine the affair as please, even in the presence of Æmilius.' M. Fulvius answered, 'Supposing the world was ignorant of the enmity Æmilius bears me, and of the tyrannical and arbitrary manner in which he shews his animosity and resentment; yet it is intolerable that his absence should obstruct the praise due to the Gods, and the triumph my services merit: that a successful general and victorious army should be detained with their prisoners and booty without the gates, till a consul, who stopt on purpose, should deign to return to Rome. But since his animosity is so notorious, what justice can be expected from

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him,

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him, who, taking advantage of a thin house, got an unfair decree passed, and had it registered too? Does it not appear that Ambracia was taken by force of arms, when I approached it by mounts and galleries? When I erected new works, after my first were burnt and destroy'd: when I fought fifteen days round the walls above and under ground: when my troops, after having scaled the walls, were obliged to fight from morning till night: and, lastly, when above 3000 of the enemy were killed during the siege? What a calumny then was it in him to accuse me before the pontiffs of having plundered the temples of the Gods in a city taken by force of arms? as if it had only been allowable to take away the ornaments of Syracuse and other cities, and Ambracia alone was exempted from the rigors of war. I therefore beg you, conscript fathers and tribunes, not to expose me to the caprice of a haughty enemy.'

CHAP.

V.



THEN the senators rose up from all sides, some to entreat the tribune to drop his opposition, and others to reproach him. But the speech of his colleague Tib. Gracchus made the greatest impression upon him. 'It is a shameful thing, said he, in a magistrate to use the power of his office against his own enemies. How much more detestable and unbecoming will it then be in a tribune of the people to use the authority given him by the sacred laws as a tool to gratify another person's enmity? One's own heart and reason ought to regulate his love or hatred, approbation or condemnation of actions: one ought not to depend upon the looks and nods of others. A tribune in particular ought not to be influenced by the caprice of any other person, or support the unjust hatred of a consul. You, Abutius, ought not to regard the private orders Æmilius gave you, or forget that the Roman people confided the tribunitian power to you, to aid the citizens, and maintain their liberty, but not to favor the tyranny of consuls. Do you not reflect,

that

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V.
that it will be recorded to future ages, that of two
tribunes of the same year, one had sacrificed his
private resentment to the public interest, and the
other gratified that of another, from a servile com-
pliance with his orders?' These remonstrances had
their effect on the tribune, and he left the house. So
upon the motion of Ser. Sulpicius the prætor, a tri-
umph was decreed to Fulvius. When he paid his
compliments of thanks to the fathers, he added,
'That day on which I took Ambracia, I vowed to
celebrate great games in honor of Jupiter, the
greatest and best of beings; and for that purpose
collected 110 pound weight of gold from the states
of Ætolia. I beg therefore, illustrious fathers,
that you will give orders to separate that sum from
what are to be carried in my triumph, in order to
be deposited in the public treasury.' The senate
ordered the pontifs to be consulted, whether it was
necessary to expend so great a sum in exhibiting the
games. The pontifs said, it did not concern religi-
on, what sums were laid out upon them. Upon this
the senate gave Fulvius permission to expend what
he pleased, provided he did not exceed the sum of
80000 asses. He had resolved to suspend his tri-
umph till the month of January. But upon hearing
the consul Æmilius, whom Abutius had informed
by letter of his having dropt his opposition, had set
out for Rome to obstruct his honor in person, but had
fallen sick on the road, he anticipated the day, lest
he should have a fiercer battle about his triumph at
Rome, than he had had in Ætolia. He triumphed
on the 22d of December for the Ætolians and Ce-
phallenia. In the procession were carried before his
chariot 100 crowns of gold, weighing 12 pound a-
piece^a; 1083 pound weight of silver, 243 of gold,
118000 Attic tetradrachmæ, 12422 philippus's, 285
brass statues, and 230 of marble, besides vast quan-
tities of arms and other booty. Add to these the
catapultæ, balistæ, and other engines of all sorts,

^a 57600 l. at 4l. per ounce.

with 27 prisoners of distinction, either Ætolian, Cephallenian or Syrian lords. The same day, before his procession, he confer'd military rewards in the Flaminian circus, on legionary tribunes, præfects, knights, centurions, and Roman allies. To each of his soldiers he gave 25 denarii², double to a centurion, and triple to a knight.

CHAP.

VI.

THE time for holding the consular elections was near at hand, and as Æmilius, whose lot it was to preside at them, could not be present, Flaminius came to Rome and supplied his place. The fasces were transfer'd to Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus. Then T. Mænius, P. Cornelius Sylla, C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Licinius Lucullus, C. Aurelius Scaurus, and L. Quinctius Crispinus, were elected prætors. Towards the end of the year, and after the election of magistrates Cn. Manlius Vulso triumphed on the fifth of March for the Asiatic Gauls. He had purposely defer'd it, to avoid being prosecuted before Q. Terentius Culleo the prætor, by virtue of the Pætilian law, and becoming the victim of the iniquitous judge who had condemned L. Scipio. He knew the judges would be more incensed against him, than they had been against Scipio, because he had suffered military discipline, which his predecessor had kept up with great severity, to degenerate into licentiousness. Neither was it only the account of the excesses which his troops ran into in the province, and at a distance, which reflected dishonor upon him; but because they daily abandoned themselves to pleasures before the eyes of all Rome. For it was Manlius's army that introduced the Asiatic luxury into the city. They first brought in couches adorned with brags, rich counterpoints, curtains, and other fine coverings, and, which were then considered as the most magnificent furniture, tables standing on one foot, and buffets. To this they added female minstrels, who play'd on the harp and sackbut, and who acted farces to divert the company at entertainments. At this time

² 16 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

they likewise begun to furnish out their entertainments with great delicacy and expence. In consequence, a cook, who formerly had been the meanest of all slaves, became the most necessary and most esteemed servant in the family ; and what was before a contemptible office, rose to be an art of great consequence. However, these excesses, the novelty of which surprized at that time, were but faint images of the luxury into which the Romans afterwards plunged.

IN the procession were carry'd before Manlius 200 crowns of gold, weighing 12 pounds apiece^a, 220000 pound weight of silver^b, 2203 pound weight of gold^c, 127000 Attic tetradrachmæ^d, 250000 cistophori^e, 16320 gold Philippius's^f, with great quantities of Gallic arms and other booty in waggons. Before his chariot were led 52 chiefs of the Gallo-Greeks. He distributed to each soldier 42 denarii^g, and twice as much to each centurion. Besides he gave the foot double^h pay, and tripleⁱ to the horse. Many persons of all ranks, on whom he had confer'd military rewards, followed in his train. The air resounded with the military songs in his praise, which manifestly proceeded from his facility and indulgence: By this means his triumph was more applauded by the soldiers than the people. But to regain him their favor, his friends after great interest obtain'd a decree of the senate, ' that part of the money carry'd ' in his triumph should be apply'd to pay that part ' of the money which the people had formerly lent ' to the public, that had not been already discharged.' The city questors raised a sufficient fund to discharge the debt, by taking only $25\frac{1}{2}$ asses per 1000 out of all the money carry'd in triumph. About the same time two legionary tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from C. Atinius and L. Manlius.

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VII.

^a At 4 l. per ounce they were worth 115200 l.

^b 660000 l.

^c 105744 l.

^d 16404 l. 3 s. 4 d.

^e 4304 l. 8. 0 d. $\frac{4}{5}$.

^f 14756 l.

^g 1 l. 7 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

^h 2 l. 14 s. 3 d.

ⁱ 4 l. 1 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Their contents were, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians had taken up arms, and ravaged the lands of the allies. The senate refer'd the consideration of that affair entirely to the new magistrates. As the Roman games, exhibited this year by P. Cornel. Cethegus and A. Postumius Albinus, were celebrating in the circus, a pole which was not well fixed fell upon the image of the Goddess Power, and threw it down. This accident alarmed the superstition of the fathers, so that they ordered the games to be continued one day longer, and in place of the statue to erect two new gilded ones. The plebeian games were also continued another day by their ædiles, C. Sempronius Blæsus, and M. Furius Luscus.

CHAP.

VIII.

Sp. Posth.
Albinus and
Q. Marcius
Philippus,
consuls.

Y. of R. 566.

B. J. C. 186.

THE punishing an intestine conspiracy kept the two consuls of the new year, Albinus and Philippus, from thinking of armies, wars or provinces. However the prætors cast lots for theirs. Mænius got the jurisdiction of the city; Lucullus the cognizance of differences between citizens and foreigners; Scaurus, Sardinia; Sylla, Sicily; Crispinus Hither, and Piso, Farther Spain. Both consuls were allotted the enquiry into the secret conspiracy. An obscure Greek landed from his own country first in Hetruria. He was entirely unskilled in those ingenuous arts and sciences, which that polite and learned people have often brought among us, and which have refined and polished both our minds and body. He was a despicable priest and soothsayer: neither did he, for subsistence, publicly profess to teach religious rites and ceremonies, which make an awful impression on the minds of men, but to instruct them in secret mysteries. At first he initiated only a small number of persons; but soon admitted both men and women indiscriminately. To attract a greater number, he also added to the mysteries, the pleasures of wine and feasting. When wine and darkness had banished all sense of decency from the breasts of a mixed assembly of men and women, young and old, they abandoned themselves to all kind of wickedness, for

each

each had opportunity sufficient to indulge his naturally predominant passion. Neither was the promiscuous abuse of men and women one with another without distinction, the only vice of this assembly: but false witness, forgeries of deeds and wills, and informations, issued from this corrupt office; nay poisonings and murders in private families so secretly committed, that the bodies of the unhappy persons were never found for interment. They practised many crimes by secret treachery, but more by open force. But the noise of drums and cymbals drowned the cries and shrieks of those whom they assassinated, or sacrificed by violence to the gratification of their lusts.

FROM Hetruria these abominations, like a con- CHAP.
tagious distemper, spread as far as Rome. The IX.
largeness of the city concealed them for some time: but at length the consul Posthumius came to the knowledge of it in the following manner. P. Æbutius, having lost his father, who was a knight, and soon after his guardians, by death, fell under the guardianship of his mother Duronia and his father-in-law T. Sempronius Rutilus. The mother was entirely devoted to the husband, who having managed his ward's estate in such a manner that he could not give an account of it, conceived thoughts of ridding himself of him either by death, or falling on some pretext to make him his slave. The most proper means he thought to compass this end, was to initiate him in this cursed sect of Bacchanalians. In consequence the mother called him and said, ' In your last sickness, ' son, I vowed, that if it should please the Gods to ' recover you, to initiate you in the mysteries of ' Bacchus. Since therefore the goodness of the Gods ' in restoring your health obliges me to perform ' my vow, I earnestly desire to do so. You must ' prepare yourself by ten day's continence. On the ' tenth day after supper, and being thoroughly wash- ' ed and purify'd, I will lead you to the Bacchanals ' myself.' There was a famous enfranchised courte-
zan,

CHAP. IX. zan, named Hispala Fecenia. She had followed this profession when a young slave, and subsisted herself by it after she got her freedom; but had sentiments very uncommon to persons in her course of life. As she lived in the neighborhood, she had contracted a commerce with Æbutius, without injuring his reputation or draining his pocket: for she attached herself to him out of esteem and a sincere affection, and as he had but small allowance from his mother and father-in-law, her liberality enabled him to live in a genteel manner. In time she became so enamored of him, that the patron at whose disposal she was dying, she petitioned the tribunes and prætor for another, because she resolved to make her will, by which she left Æbutius her sole heir.

CHAP. X. ENGAGED thus by mutual pledges of love, they concealed nothing from each other; so that the young gentleman pleasantly forbade her to be surprized, if he lay from her a few nights. He intended to be initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus, in order to discharge a vow that had been made for the recovery of his health. Struck with horror at the news, she cry'd out, ' May the Gods forbid, and ' rather grant us both death, than suffer you to do ' so! May the dangers that threaten you fall on the ' heads of those who have given you this cursed ad- ' vice!' The youth, astonished at what she said, and at the concern he saw her in, beg'd her to spare her execrations; for it was by order of his mother, with consent of his father-in-law. ' Then, reply'd ' she, this father-in-law (for respect for you will not ' suffer me to blame your mother) by this abomina- ' ble deed, wants to precipitate your honor, reputa- ' tion, hopes and life, to inevitable destruction.' This increased his astonishment, and he pressed her to be more explicit. ' I call all the Gods and God- ' deses to witness, said she, that my affectionate re- ' gard for your preservation, and no other motive, ' extorts from me a discovery of what ought to be an ' inviolable secret. When I was a slave, I attended

• my

‘ my mistress to this mystery, but never have been
 ‘ there since I enjoy’d my liberty. I know it to be
 ‘ a sink of all kinds of vice. For two years no per-
 ‘ son above twenty years of age has been initiated.
 ‘ When any person is first introduced, he is deliver-
 ‘ ed as a victim to the priests. They lead him to a
 ‘ private place, where by vast shouts, vocal concerts,
 ‘ and the noise of cymbals and drums, they drown
 ‘ the cries of the wretched person, while he is vio-
 ‘ lently rob’d of his honor. I implore and conjure
 ‘ you, by any means to disengage yourself from be-
 ‘ ing hurry’d to a place where you must first suffer
 ‘ and then perpetrate the most horrid acts of wicked-
 ‘ nefs.’ She did not quit him till she had made him
 swear he would renounce those abominable mysteries.
 Then he went home, where, when his mother told
 him what he ought to do that and the following days,
 to prepare himself for the initiation, he roundly an-
 swered, he did not intend to observe any of the
 rules she prescribed, or to be initiated.

HIS father-in-law was present at this discourse. CHAP.
 His mother immediately exclaimed, ‘ that he could XI.
 ‘ not refrain from the embraces of Hispala, during
 ‘ these ten nights! She is the forcerefs, whose poiso-
 ‘ nous charms has extinguished in you all sense of
 ‘ duty to your father-in-law and mother, and regard
 ‘ for the Gods.’ She on one side, and the father-in-
 law on the other, reproached him in this manner, and
 with four slaves turned him out of doors. The youth
 went directly to his aunt by the father’s side, named
 Æbutia, and told her the reason why his mother had
 turned him out. Next day she ordered him to go
 privately and reveal the matter to the consul Posthu-
 mus. The Consul dismissed him with orders to
 return to him after three days. Posthumus enquired
 of his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, a lady of great virtue
 and distinction, if she was acquainted with an ancient
 lady, one Æbutia, who lived on mount Aventine?
 ‘ I know her well, answered she, to be an honest
 ‘ woman, and one who strictly adheres to the ancient
 ‘ manners

CHAP. ^{XI.} *manners of Rome.* ‘ Then, says he, I want to
 ‘ speak with her ; pray send and desire her to come
 ‘ hither.’ *Æbutia* comply’d with the message, and
 waited on *Sulpicia*. In a little time the consul dropt
 into their company, as if it had been by accident,
 and introduced a conversation about her nephew
Æbutius. The good old gentlewoman, overwhelmed
 with tears, began to lament his misfortunes. ‘ He
 ‘ is rob’d, said she, of his fortune, by persons, whom
 ‘ it ill becomes to act such a villainous part : he is
 ‘ now at my house, being turned out of doors by
 ‘ his own mother, because the honest youth, God
 ‘ deliver us all ! refused to be initiated in some ob-
 ‘ scene mysteries.’

CHAP. ^{XII.} BY this the consul was satisfied that *Æbutius* had
 told him the truth. So he dismissed *Æbutia*, and
 beg’d his mother-in-law to send also for the freed wo-
 man, *Hispala*, who lived on the *Aventine* hill, and
 was well known to all the neighborhood, for he had
 some questions to ask her. *Hispala* trembled at a
 message desiring her, she knew not why, to wait on
 a lady of such distinction and virtue. But when she
 saw the lictors and the consul’s train in the porch, and
 then the consul himself, she swooned. She was car-
 ried into a private apartment, where the consul, in
 presence of *Sulpicia*, told her, ‘ she had nothing to
 ‘ fear, if she could resolve to tell truth. Either *Sul-*
 ‘ *picia*, a lady of undoubted credit, or himself, would
 ‘ give her full security. She must therefore make a
 ‘ full discovery of what was commonly acted in the
 ‘ nocturnal assembly of the *Bacchanals* in the grove
 ‘ of *Semele*^a.’ Upon hearing this, *Hispala* was
 seized with such terror and trembling of every limb,
 that her breath failed her for a long time. When
 she recovered, she declared, that she had been ini-
 tiated with her mistress, when she was young and a
 slave, but during several years that she had been free,
 she knew nothing of what passed there. The consul
 commended her for not denying that she was initiated,

^a The mother of *Bacchus*.

and desired her to proceed with equal fidelity to discover the rest. But she insisted she knew no more. The consul told her, he would not so easily pardon her, or shew her equal favor, if she should oblige him to convict her by the testimony of another, as he would if she made an open confession herself; for her confidant had discovered all to him.

HISPALA, no longer doubting that Æbutius had revealed the secret, fell at the feet of Sulpicia, and conjured her, not to turn a conversation between a courtesan and her lover, not only into a serious, but even a capital matter. What she had told him was only to deter him from being initiated, and proceeded not from her personal knowledge. This exasperated the consul. What, says he, do you think you are now imposing on your lover Æbutius, and forget that you are speaking to a consul in the house of a lady of the highest rank and merit? Then Sulpicia endeavored to encourage Hispala, who trembled for fear, on the one hand exhorting her to confess, and on the other softening her son's passion. At length the courtesan recovered, and inveighed bitterly against the perfidy of Æbutius, who had so ill requited the services she had done him. I much dread, said she, the vengeance of the Gods, should I reveal their secret mysteries, but more the resentment of mankind, who will tear me to pieces with their hands, for making the discovery. Let me therefore conjure you both to banish me to some place without Italy, where I may spend my remaining days in safety. The consul bad her take courage, for she would take care that she should live securely at Rome. Upon this she revealed the whole mystery from the beginning. It was originally only an assembly of women, to which they never used to admit any of the other sex. Three days in a year were set apart for the initiation of members, and the assembly met only in the day time. The women in turn were elected priestesses. But Pæula Minia, a Ca-

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puān, changed the regulations of the society, as
 she pretended, by the advice of the Gods. She
 was the first who introduced men, namely her two
 sons, Minius and Herennius Cerrinii. From be-
 ing celebrated in the day, she had changed them
 into nocturnal assemblies, which, instead of only
 three days in a year, as formerly, were to meet
 five nights every month for initiation. Since the
 promiscuous assembling of men and women at
 these mysteries, and the licentiousness favored by
 the darkness, all kinds of crimes and abominable
 wickedness were committed without scruple. More
 men abused each other's bodies, than indulged
 with women. If any one refused to prostitute
 themselves, or shewed a reluctance to abuse others,
 they were sacrificed to appease the wrath of the
 Gods. The principal article of their religion, is
 to reckon nothing a crime. The men by agitati-
 ons and fanatic gestures, as if deprived of their
 senses, pronounce a kind of oracles; and the wo-
 men dressed like priestesses of Bacchus, with their
 hair loose, and flaming torches in their hands, run
 and plunge them in the Tiber, and take them out
 again without the flame being extinguished, because
 the flambeaux were made of live sulphur and
 quick-lime. They also give out, that men whom
 they bind to a machine and hurry out of sight in-
 to secret caves, are taken away by the Gods: and
 these unfortunate persons are such, as would nei-
 ther swear to be their associates, accomplices in
 their wickedness, or submit to be abused. Their
 number is already so great, that it composes a
 second people at Rome, of which are many per-
 sons of distinction of both sexes. Two years ago
 a rule was made to admit no person above twenty
 years of age. For in the flower of youth people
 are more easily seduced, and readier to yield them-
 selves up to prostitution.

See Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 15. in the 15th story
 of the tower of Babel.

J. W. H. E. N.

WHEN she had finished her information, she fell again at the consul's feet, and repeated her earnest petition to be transported out of Italy. Posthumius beg'd his mother to empty an apartment in her house, as a retreat for Hispala. In consequence she was lodged in the uppermost story, and the stair-case of her apartment leading into the street, was turned within. Then all her effects and family were sent for thither; and as for Æbutius, he was sent to live with one of the consul's clients. Posthumius, having thus secured the two witnesses, laid the affair before the senate. Having in order informed them how the affair was discovered to him, and the enquiry he had made into it, it struck the fathers with horror. They were both afraid that these nocturnal cabals and assemblies should endanger the state, and that each should find his own relations among the criminals. However they decreed, that the consul should be thanked for the pains he had taken in discovering the affair without noise or tumult. They also appointed him and his colleague to enquire more fully into the nocturnal ceremonies of the bacchanals; taking great care to protect Æbutius and Hispala, and offer rewards to engage others to join in the discovery. They gave them commission to search, not only in Rome, but all market places, for the priests and priestesses of these mysteries, and to dispose of them as they pleased. Likewise to issue a proclamation in Rome and over all Italy, prohibiting 'all who
' had been initiated in the bacchanalia, to assemble
' or meet for the celebration of them, or any religious ceremony relating to them. But in particular,
' to punish those who had met or conspired against
' the lives and honor of any person.' Such was the decree of senate. The consuls ordered the curule ædiles to make enquiry after the priests of the mystery, and when they should be apprehended to keep them in a private place till they should be examined. They also ordered the plebeian ædiles to take care that no mysteries were celebrated in secret;

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and the triumviri capitales to place guards all over the city to prevent nocturnal assemblies. And in order to prevent fires, five other officers were appointed to guard on this side of the Tiber, under direction of the triumviri, for the preservation of the buildings, each in their respective quarters.

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xv.

THE magistrates, according to these dispositions, being sent to their respective posts, the consuls ascended the rostra, and called an assembly of the people. After Postumius had finished the solemn prayer, with which the magistrates usually ushered in their speeches to the multitude, he addressed the assembly as follows. ' Never in any assembly, Romans, was
' this solemn invocation of the Gods more suitable
' or necessary than in the present. It should teach
' you, that those alone are the true Gods, whom
' our ancestors appointed to be worshipped, revered,
' and solemnly invoked; not those who drive,
' with infernal goads, your minds, transported with
' false and foreign rites, to the perpetration of all
' kinds of crimes and lewdness. It is impossible for
' me to be silent, and yet I am at a loss, how to
' represent to you these abominable profanations.
' I am afraid if I should conceal ought from you, of
' giving you occasion to neglect the true religion; and
' on the contrary, if I represent them in their proper
' light, I fear it will make you tremble with horror.
' However be assured of this, that let me say what
' I will, my words can never be bad enough for
' such heinous and atrocious crimes. However, I
' shall endeavor to say as much as will suffice to guard
' you against them. I am certainly informed, that
' you have not only heard by report of the bacchanalia which have long been celebrated all over
' Italy, and now in many places of this city, but
' even by the noise and howlings which in the night
' resound all over Rome. Yet I believe you are
' ignorant of the nature and causes of it. Some of
' you imagined it a certain new worship of the Gods,
' and others, that it was an authorized festival and
' foolish

foolish pastime; or that, whatever it was, only
 a few persons were concerned in it. As to the num-
 ber of the initiated, if I shall tell you it amounts
 to many thousands, you must necessarily be con-
 founded with terror, if I do not directly inform
 you of their quality. At first they were only a
 multitude of women who were the source of this
 evil. Afterwards they were joined by men, as
 effeminate as themselves, who abandoned themselves
 to be abused and to abuse others, frantic with
 watching, and stupify'd with wine, nocturnal noise
 and howlings. This cabal has yet gathered little
 strength, but it daily receives new accessions by the
 numbers that join it. Your ancestors would never
 suffer any number of people to rendezvous rashly,
 except when a standard was erected in the citadel
 to assemble the centuries to levy an army; when
 the tribunes summoned a meeting of the tribes, or
 any of the magistrates called an assembly to hear
 their harangues: And wherever a multitude was
 gathered together, they judged it necessary to have
 a lawful head to make it a legal assembly. But of
 what sort, think you, are those nocturnal meetings,
 promiscuous rendezvouses of men and women? If
 you know of what age the men are when initiated,
 you would not only pity, but blush for them.
 Do you think, Romans, that the striplings admit-
 ted into this mystery are capable to serve in the
 wars? or that after such obscene education, they
 can be trusted with arms? Can they, overwhelmed
 with acts of foulest lust, fight for the honor of your
 wives and children?

HOWEVER the crime would have been the
 less, if they had only indulged an effeminate laci-
 viousness (for that would have derived dishonor
 only to themselves) and kept their hands free from
 perpetrating, and their heads from projecting hor-
 rid and treacherous villainies. Never was the re-
 public visited with so great a malady, in which
 more people are concerned, or which extends to

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such a multitude of affairs. You must know, that from this religious place have flowed all the licentiousness, frauds and wickedness that have been perpetrated these several years. Neither have they yet executed all the mischiefs they have hatched. Some of them are still a secret, because they have not strength sufficient to oppress the commonwealth, which they have wickedly plotted. The contagion increases and spreads daily. It is already too strong to be content with preying on the fortunes of individuals; it aims at the state. Romans, this nocturnal cabal may become a match for this assembly legally summoned by the consul in open day. Now each of them, when separated, are afraid of you all in a body. But by and by, when you are retired to your houses and farms, they will assemble. They will then form schemes for their own preservation and your destruction. Then, when united, they will become formidable to you separated from each other. Each of you then ought to wish, that all of you may be true to one another. Whomever mad lasciviousness has precipitated into this whirlpool, each of you ought to look upon as firmly attached to his accomplices in all kinds of vice and wickedness. I am extremely concerned, that none of you be drawn into this error, because nothing is more capable of seducing than criminal superstition. When veiled under the venerable garb of regard for the Gods, it fills our minds with an awful dread, lest in punishing the villainy of mortals, we violate some divine law which may be connected with it. But your scruples in this point are removed by decrees of the pontiffs, acts of senate, and responses of the haruspices. For how many times did your fathers and ancestors grant commission to the magistrates, to restrain foreign rites, to drive despicable priests and diviners out of the forum, circus and city, and search after and burn all fanatic books, to abolish all forms of sacrificing, except the Roman?

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For all wise men, learned in ecclesiastical and civil law, have declared, that nothing has so great a tendency to overthrow religion, as relinquishing the established customs of the country to sacrifice according to foreign rites. Thus much I thought necessary to say by way of caution, that your scruples may not be alarmed, when you see us extirpating the bacchanalia, and dissolving those cursed assemblies. We shall do it with the countenance and approbation of the Gods, who, not able to suffer such horrid crimes and abominable lusts to be committed in their names, have brought them out of darkness to expose them in full light, not to let them pass with impunity, but to crush and take vengeance on them. The senate have given me and my colleague an extraordinary commission to enquire after them, and we will for our parts execute it with vigor. We have ordered the inferior magistrates to keep strict guard all over the city during the night. You ought on your part punctually to obey the particular orders shall be given you, and endeavor to prevent the criminals from exciting dangerous tumults.

CHAP. XVII.

THEN they ordered the decree of the senate to be read, and proposed rewards to any who should bring before them or give in the names of criminals. If any of those informed against should fly, a day should be fixed for their appearance, after which they should be condemned for default. If any person then out of Italy should be accused, a longer term should be granted for their appearance if they should incline to return and make their defence. They farther prohibited every person from selling or buying any thing with a design to favor the flight of the criminals, or take them into their houses, conceal, or assist them in any manner whatever. As soon as the assembly was dismissed the whole city was in the utmost consternation. Nay the terror was not confined within the walls and territories of Rome, but spread all over Italy, as the

CHAP. Romans wrote to their friends and acquaintance, to
 XVII. inform them of the decree of the senate and edict of
 the consuls. The night after the assembly in which
 Posthumius had made the foregoing speech, the
 guard at the gates seized and brought back many of
 the criminals, attempting to make their escape.
 Abundance of men and women were informed against,
 many of whom laid violent hands upon themselves.
 It is said the numbers of this abominable cabal amount-
 ed to above 7000. But it is certain the heads of it
 were M. and L. Catinii, commoners of Rome, L.
 Opiternius, a Faliscan, and Minius Cerrinius, a
 Capuan. These four were the authors of all the
 crimes and disorders, the high priests and founders
 of the mystery. Such right measures were taken,
 that they were soon seized. As soon as they were
 brought before the consuls, they confessed their crime,
 and did not in the least delay their sentence.

CHAP. BUT the number of fugitives was so great, and
 XVIII. the creditors who had actions against them in so great
 danger of losing their right, that the prætors, T.
 Mænius and M. Licinius obtained a decree of senate,
 allowing all parties a month, till the consuls should
 finish the enquiry, to prove their clames. The same
 desertion (for those who had been informed against
 neither appeared or could be found at Rome) obliged
 the consuls to remove into the neighboring cities to
 carry on the enquiry and pass sentence. Such as
 were convicted of having been initiated and of hav-
 ing pronounced the form of the oath dictated by the
 prætor, and by which they had bound themselves
 to commit all acts of villainy and debauchery, but
 had neither suffered themselves or perpetrated on others
 what they had sworn to do, were imprisoned. But
 those who were guilty of the foulest debaucheries,
 murders, bearing false witness, forgeries, counter-
 feiting wills, and other fraudulent practices, were
 punished with death. And these were the majority.
 Great numbers of both sexes had taken the oath, and
 abundance polluted themselves with these crimes.

The

The women, who were condemned, were delivered to their relations or guardians, in order to be executed privately. But if there was nobody found proper to entrust with this execution, they were publickly put to death. After this the consuls were ordered to demolish all the places where these bacchanalia were celebrated, first at Rome, and next throughout all Italy, without sparing any thing, excepting the old altars and statues of Bacchus. The senate afterwards passed the following decree. ' That no bacchanalia should be celebrated either at Rome or in Italy. If any person thought himself necessarily obliged to solemnize a religious festival to this God, and could not omit it without guilt, he should give notice of it to the city prætor, who should report it to the senate. That if permission to celebrate it was granted him, when there were at least an hundred members in the house, there should not more than five persons be present at it, they should have no common funds, nor should any take upon him the quality of head or priest of the sacrifice.'

CHAP.

xviii.

AT the motion of the consul Philippus, another decree was passed, ' that all the resolutions concerning the persons, who had made the discovery to the consuls, should be defer'd till Posthumius's return from finishing the enquiry in the neighboring cities, and then left to the determination of the senate.'

CHAP.

xix.

It was thought proper to send Minius Cerrinius the Capuan to the prison of Ardea, with orders to the magistrates strictly to guard him, not only to prevent his escape, but even his killing himself. Soon after Posthumius returned to Rome. Upon his moving that P. Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia should be rewarded for having discovered the wickedness of the bacchanalia, the fathers passed a decree, ' that the city should out of the treasury pay each of them 100000 * asses. That Posthumius should as soon as possible desire the tribunes to move the people to exempt Æbutius from military service, if he

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XIX.

pleased, and to forbid the censors to assign him a horse at the public charge. That Hispala Fecenia should have power to alienate or diminish her estate, be free to marry out of her own family^b, and have the choice of her own guardian, as much as if her master had granted her these privileges by his last will. She was permitted to marry a free husband, without imputation of infamy to him who should marry her. That it was the will of the senate that the present consuls and prætors, and their successors, should take care to protect and secure her from all injury. All these privileges in pursuance of the senate's decree were ratify'd by the people, and the consuls had permission to reward and indemnify the other informers.

CHAP.

XX.

THE consul Philippus, having finished the recognition in his own district, prepared to set out for Liguria. To recruit the army in that province he was allowed to raise and take with him 3000 Roman foot and 150 horse, with 5000 Latin foot and 200 horse. The same quota of infantry and cavalry were decreed to his colleague for the same province. They received the armies, which had served the preceding year under the consuls C. Flaminius and M. Æmilius. The senate also allowed them to levy for Spain, beside 3000 foot and 200 horse to recruit the old corps, two new legions and 20000 Latin foot and 1300 horse. As the consuls were wholly taken up with the enquiry, they commissioned T. Mænius to make the levies. When the recognition was finished Philippus set out first, and arrived among the Apuani. Having pursued them too far into a thick forest, their usual refuge against the enemy, he fell into an ambush, and was surrounded in a disadvantageous ground. Here he lost 4000 men, and the enemy carried off three ensigns belonging to the second legion, with eleven Latin standards. Many of his

^b According to the Roman law enfranchised persons had not power to marry without consent of the father of the family which had granted them their freedom, or of the person who represented him. See *Ulpian Tit. II. Regulæ*.

men also threw away their arms, because they encumbered them in their flight through the narrow paths of the wood; for the Ligurians did not quit the pursuit till they had entirely routed and put the Romans to flight. As soon as the consul got out of the enemy's country into a friendly one, he disbanded his army to conceal his loss. However it was not possible to cancel the memory of his defeat: for the Ligurians gave the name of the MARCIAN forest to the wood from whence they had driven him.

ABOUT the time this news arrived from Liguria, they received letters at Rome out of Spain. Their contents occasioned both joy and grief. C. Atinius, who two years before had gone in quality of prætor into that province, fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians in the territory of Asta^a, where he killed 6000 of the enemy, routed the rest, and took their camp. Then he attacked the city of Asta, which was taken with as little difficulty as the camp had been before: but the pro-prætor, having approached the wall in person without precaution, received a wound of which he died some days after. Upon reading the accounts of his death, the senate ordered a messenger to be dispatched after the prætor Calpurnius to the port of Luna, to bid him hasten his voyage, that the province might not be without a commander in chief. L. Manlius, who had gone to Hither Spain at the same time that Atinius had to his province, engaged the Celtiberians. It was a drawn battle, except that the enemy decamped next night, and left the Romans at liberty to bury their own dead, and strip those of the Celtiberians. Within a few days the enemy greatly reinforced challenged the Romans at the city of Calaguris^b. No reason is assigned why they were worsted, notwithstanding their accession of strength. About 12000 of them were killed, and 2000 taken prisoners. The Romans also got possession of their camp, and had not a suc-

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XXI.

^a Near Xeres de la Frontera in Andalusia.

^b Now Calaborra on the confines of Navarre.

cessor stop the pro-prætor's glorious career; the Celtiberians had been entirely reduced. Both the new prætors led their troops into winter quarters.

CHAP.

XXII.

ABOUT the time that these advices arrived from Spain, the Taurilian games^a were celebrated for two days, because the people's superstitious fears were alarmed. At the same time M. Fulvius celebrated during ten days the games he had vowed in the Ætolian war. To exhibit them with greater splendor, he had sent for a great number of curious actors from Greece. This was the first time that combats of wrestlers were seen at Rome. Lions and panthers were also then baited. In a word, the games at that time were as numerous and various almost as they are in the present age. Sacrifices were also appointed for nine days, because it had rained stones for three days at Picenum, and lightening in several places had singed the clothes of the peasants. Besides, the temple of Ops in the capitol was struck with lightening, for which a supplication for one day was made by order of the pontiffs. The consuls expiated these prodigies, and purified the city with the larger sacrifices. About the same time they received advice that an hermaphrodite twelve years of age had been found in Umbria. Being looked upon as a monster, it was ordered to be carried out of the Roman territories, and put to death as soon as possible. About the same time the Transalpine Gauls invaded Venetia^b, without ravaging it or committing any other hostilities. Not far from it, where now stands Aquilea^c, they prepared to lay the foundation of a city. The Romans sent ambassadors over the Alps to enquire into the reason of this proceeding. Their people answered, that they had gone upon that expedition without permission from the state, neither did they

^a According to *Festus*, a contagious distemper spread itself in Rome, among women with child, in the reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. It was ascribed to their eating the flesh of sacrificed bulls, the overplus of which the sacrificers sold. And then the Tauri-

an, or Taurilian games were instituted, in order to appease the anger of the infernal Gods.

^b Now *Marca Trevigiana*.

^c At the mouth of the river *Natisa*.

know any business they had in Italy. At that time L. Scipio celebrated during ten days the games he had vowed in the war with Antiochus, out of the money he had collected for that purpose from the petty princes and states of Asia. Valerius Antias says, that after his condemnation and the confiscation of his effects, he was sent into Asia to accommodate some differences between Antiochus and Eumenes; that it was at this time he collected the money, and assembled many ingenious actors in Asia. That on his return he moved the senate for permission to celebrate the games, of which he had not made the least mention after the war for which he had vowed them.

THE year was near expired, and Q. Marcius was not present to quit his office. Posthumius having finished the enquiry with great exactness and fidelity, presided at the comitia, in which Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, were elected consuls. Next day P. Cornelius Cethegus, A. Posthumius Albinus, C. Afranius Stellio, C. Atilius Serranus, M. Posthumius Tampilanus, and M. Claudius Marcellinus were elected prætors. In the end of the year the consul Posthumius informed the senate, that in his progress along both coasts of Italy for enquiring after the bacchanals, he had found the colony of Sipontus on the Adriatic shore, and that of Buxentum on the Hetrurian sea, abandoned by the inhabitants. Upon this the city prætor T. Mænius appointed three commissioners, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Tuccius, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus, to levy and carry new colonies thither. The Macedonian war with Perſes, which was on the point of breaking out, had another cause than that commonly assigned, neither was Perſes the author of it. It was designed by Philip, who, had not death prevented him, would have prosecuted it himself. Of all the hard conditions imposed on that vanquished prince, none gave him so much pain, as the senate's depriving him of the power to punish the Macedonians who had revolted from him in the war. Quinctius at settling the conditions had refer-

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Ap. Claud.
Pulcher, M.
Sempronius,
consuls.

Y. of R. 567.
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red that matter entirely to the senate, which gave Philip some hopes of procuring it. Besides, he was enraged, that after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, when he and Acilius separated, the one to besiege Heraclea and the other Lamia, the Roman, after taking the former, had ordered him to raise the siege of the latter, which surrendered to Acilius. The consul indeed, being in haste to get to Naupactus, whither the Ætolians had fled, to mollify the Macedonian, gave him leave to carry his arms against Amynder king of Athamania, and added to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken in Thessaly. With little difficulty he drove Amynder out of Athamania, and got possession of several of his cities. He likewise reduced Demetrias, a city very strong, and most commodiously situated, together with the Magnesians. Then he added to his dominions also several cities in Thracæ, where the late enjoyment of their liberty, to which they were unaccustomed, had raised a spirit of faction among their chiefs, and Philip took the part of the weakest in this civil dissention.

CHAP. XXIV. THESE conquests pacified the king's resentment against the Romans for the present. However he never drop'd his resolution of collecting forces during the peace, in order to employ them in war, as soon as a proper opportunity should offer. He increased his revenues by exacting the tenth of the produce of the lands, and laying customs on foreign merchandize. He continued to work some mines which had been long shut up, and opened new ones, in many places. In order to repair the great loss of men who had been killed in the late wars, he obliged his subjects to marry and procreate children, and settled great numbers of Thracians in Macedonia. In short, during the whole time he had no war on his hands, he spared no pains to augment the strength and riches of his kingdom. He soon had fresh motives to revive his resentment against the Romans. The senate gave such ear to the Thessalians and Per-
rhœbians

rhœbians when they complained of Philip's being in possession of some of their cities, and to the Pergamenian deputies, remonstrating that he had violently seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of the inhabitants to Macedonia, as plainly shewed they were inclined to espouse their cause. What made the deepest impression upon the fathers was, intelligence that he was attempting to get possession of Ænos and Maronea. They were less concerned about Thessaly. Deputies likewise arrived from the Athamanians, not to complain, that they had lost only part, or the frontier places of their country, but that the whole of it was subjected by Philip. Maronean exiles, whom his garisons had expelled for defending their liberty, informed the senate that he was not only in possession of Maronea, but of Ænos. Philip sent ambassadors to vindicate himself. These affirmed, that he had done nothing without the permission of the Roman general. 'The cities of Thessaly, said they, Perrhœbia, the Magnefians and Amynder, with his Athamanians, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætoli-ans. After the defeat of Antiochus, the Roman consul, being engaged in besieging the towns of Ætolia, had sent their master to reduce the cities above-mentioned, and to annex them to his dominions when he had taken them.' The senate would not pronounce without hearing Philip himself, and therefore sent three commissioners, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, M. Bæbius Tamphilus, and T. Sempronius, to examine into these differences. On their arrival in Greece, they appointed all the states, which had a controversy with Philip, to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

HERE the Roman deputies sat as arbiters. On the one side appeared the Thessalians, Perrhœbians and Athamanians as accusers, and on the other Philip as a criminal, to hear and vindicate himself from what they charged him with. The chiefs of the deputies expressed themselves with severity or moderation,

tion, each according to their genius, affection or hatred to the Macedonian. A doubt was started concerning Philippopolis, Tricca, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and other circumjacent towns, whether they did not in right belong to the Thessalians, from whom they had been forcibly wrested by the Ætolians, in whose possession, beyond all controversy, they were, when taken by Philip, or had originally belonged to Ætolia. For Acilius had given them to the king on this express condition, that they belonged to the Ætolians, and joined them voluntarily without being compelled by force of arms. A like dispute arose about Perrhœbia and Magnesia. For the Ætolians, who had taken opportunities to seize them, had confounded their tenures, with a view to keep possession of them. To these doubtful points the Thessalians added their complaints. ‘Supposing, said they, these cities were to be restored to us, we should receive only empty walls without effects, without inhabitants. Besides the men killed in the war, Philip has carried 500 young men of distinction into Macedonia, where he has employ’d them in servile offices far beneath their birth. In case he should be forced to restore any thing to us, he has taken care to render them useless. Thebes of Phthionis was the only important sea-port we had, and formerly it’s traffic brought us in a great revenue. But Philip has turned the commerce into another channel, by causing the merchant ships he has got to pass it, and unload at Demetrias. He could not even abstain from offering violence to the persons of our embassadors, which are sacred by the law of nations. He laid an ambush for those that were going to Flamininus. He has so terrified all Thessaly, that none dare so much as mutter, either in the assemblies of our particular states, or in our public diets of the whole nation. The Romans, who were the authors of our liberty, are at a great distance; but we have on our confines an oppressive tyrant, who will not suffer us to enjoy the blessings

' blessings the Romans intended us. What liberty CHAP.
 ' does one enjoy, if debar'd the freedom of speech? XXV.
 ' In reality, if we now presume to groan rather than
 ' speak, is owing to the sure protection of you, com-
 ' missioners. In vain have you conquered the Ma-
 ' cedonian, in vain have you restored liberty to the
 ' Greeks that border on his kingdom, if you do not
 ' remove their fears by checking his audaciousness,
 ' Like an ungovernable horse who throws his rider,
 ' he must be restrained by stronger curbs.' This last
 speech was very severe, whereas the deputies that
 spoke before endeavored to sooth the king's resent-
 ment, ' by begging he would pardon the freedom
 ' they took in their speeches; that he would lay a-
 ' side the severity of a master, accustom himself to
 ' behave like a friend and ally, and imitate the Ro-
 ' mans, who chose rather to unite their allies to them
 ' by acts of kindness than fear.' After the Theffa-
 lians had been heard, the Perrhoebians insisted that
 Gonnocondylum, to which Philip had given the
 name of Olympias, belonged to them, and should
 be restored, with Malloea and Ericinium. The A-
 thamanians insisted on being set free, and the restitu-
 tion of the two forts of Athenæum and Pœrneum.

PHILIP, though accused, affected to be an ac- CHAP.
 cuser, and begun with complaints. ' The Theffali- XXVI.
 ' ans, said he, have forcibly seized Menelaïs in Do-
 ' lopia, which belonged to me. They, in conjuncti-
 ' on with the Perrhoebians, have also taken Petra a
 ' city of Pieria. They have annexed to their domi-
 ' nions Xiniaë; which, without controversy, belongs
 ' to the Ætolians, and Parachelois, which belongs
 ' to the Athamanians, and to which they had no
 ' right. But I am charged with violences, with lay-
 ' ing an ambush for embassadors, with carrying trade
 ' to certain ports in prejudice of others. It is ex-
 ' tremely ridiculous, to make me responsible for
 ' merchants and sailors, who chuse what ports they
 ' like best. The other charge is nowise agreeable to
 ' my character. For how many years have you,
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without interruption, sent ambassadors to the Roman generals; nay, even to the senate at Rome, to complain of me? Did I ever insult them, even in words? It is said, that once I laid an ambush for some who were going to Flamininus: but have they added what became of them? But this accusation retorts upon the accusers, who, not having any real crime to object, have recourse to falsehoods. The Theffalians, like persons after long thirst, impatiently glut themselves with unlimited liberty, insolently and immoderately abusing the indulgence of the Romans. They resemble slaves, who in their first transports of liberty, obtained contrary to expectation, vent their licentiousnesses in reproaches and invectives against their former master, giving an unbridled loose to their tongues.' Then heated with passion he said, 'The sun they insult is not set for ever.' Both the Theffalians and Romans took this as a kind of menace against themselves; so that they raised a murmuring noise in the assembly. When it had subsided, Philip answered the Perrhoebian and Athamanian deputies. 'The case of the cities mentioned by both, said he, is the same. The Romans and their consul Acilius gave them to me, as belonging to their enemies. If they incline to recal their gift, I am sensible I must give them up; but they will thereby do a manifest injury to a better and more faithful friend, to gratify fickle and useless allies. The grateful sense of liberty is sooner effaced than that of any other favor, especially with them who spoil it by the bad use they make of it.' When both parties were heard, the commissioners pronounced, 'that Philip should evacuate those cities, and that the kingdom of Macedonia should be confined to its ancient limits. As to the reciprocal injuries both complained of, they would settle a method for accommodating them.'

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XXVII.

THIS decree exasperated the king. Then the deputies set out for Thessalonica, to hear the case of the

the cities of Thrace. There the deputies from Eumenes spoke first. ' If, said they, the Romans intend to make Ænos and Maronea free, our master will not be so audacious as to oppose it. Give us leave, however, to offer an humble advice; let them enjoy a real not a nominal liberty, and do not suffer your gift to be intercepted by another person. But, Romans, if you are not so favorably inclined towards the cities in Thrace, it is much more reasonable that Eumenes should obtain those towns formerly subject to Antiochus as a reward of his services in the war, than that Philip should get possession of them. This he may justly clame, either on account of the services his father Attalus performed in the war the Romans had with this very Philip; or his own, who was present in all the dangerous and fatiguing enterprizes during the war with Antiochus. In this case he can likewise plead a former sentence of ten Roman commissioners, who gave him a grant of Chersonesus and Lyfimachia, and by consequence of Maronea and Ænos, which by their neighborhood to them are appendages to the larger countries granted him. As to Philip, in what respect has he deserved so well of the Romans, or by what right of dominion has he placed garisons in cities so remote from the confines of Macedonia? Be pleased to call in the Maronites; they will give you fuller information concerning the state of those cities.' The Maronites being introduced, thus began. ' Not only our citadel, as usual in other towns, but many other posts, nay all Maronea is full of Macedonian guards. The favorers of Philip's party are absolute masters there. They alone have liberty to speak in our senate and assemblies. They either seize all honorable offices to themselves, or confer them on whom they please. Every person of worth, who would zealously maintain our liberties and laws, is either banished, deprived of honorable posts, or, being subject to men much inferior to

‘ them in merit, dare not mutter a word.’ They also added some few observations on their just limits. ‘ When Q. Fabius Labeo was in our country, he confined Philip within the old great road, which ran by the mountains of Thrace, and prohibited him from turning towards the sea. But he has turned it so far, that the cities and territories of Maronea are comprehended within it.’

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PHILIP answered these charges in a way very different from what he had done those of the Thessalians and Perrhœbians. ‘ It is not, said he, with the Maronites and Eumenes only, that I have a contest, but also with you, Romans, from whom I have long perceived I can obtain no justice. I thought it reasonable that the Macedonian cities, which had revolted from me during the truce, should be restored; not that they would have been any great accession to my dominions, (for they are small towns, and situated in the extremities of it) but because the example would have been prevalent to restrain the other cities of Macedonia. Yet this you deny’d me. In the Ætolian war your consul Acilius desired me to besiege Lamia. After many fatigues in raising works, and bloody attacks, when I was on the point of scaling the walls, he recalled me from the town, of which I was almost master, and obliged me to march off my troops. As some consolation for this injury, he gave me permission to recover a few castles rather than cities of Thessaly, Perrhœbia and Athamania. Even those, Q. Cæcilius, you took from me a few days ago. Just now, the ambassadors of Eumenes, hearken O ye Gods, presumed upon it as a thing beyond doubt, that it was more equitable to give what had belonged to Antiochus to their master than to me. I am of a quite different opinion. For, if you had not only not proved victorious, but if you had not made war upon the Syrian, Eumenes could not have maintained the possession of his kingdom. He, therefore, is obliged

to you, not you to him. But so far was any part of my dominions from being in danger, that I rejected the Syrian's offers, when he promised me 3000 talents^a, 50 ships of war, and all the Greek cities of which I was formerly possessed, as a reward of an alliance with him. Nay I declared myself an enemy to him, even before Acilius landed in Greece with a Roman army. In conjunction with this consul I entered into the war, conducting whatever part of it he committed to me. When his successor, L. Scipio, resolved to march his army by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave him a free passage through my dominions, but levelled roads for him, built bridges, and furnished him with provisions. This I did not only through Macedonia, but also through Thrace, where, besides other services, I protected him from the hostilities of those barbarians. For this zeal, let me not call it merit, ought not you, Romans, to have granted me some accession of dominion, to have amplified and augmented my kingdom by your munificence, rather than strip me of what I already possess, either in my own right, or by your favor? You own the towns of Macedon to be mine, and yet they are not restored. Eumenes comes to spoil me, in the same manner he did Antiochus. Nay, witness heaven, to cloak a most impudent falsehood, he pretends a sentence of the ten former commissioners. But this decree will be the clearest and strongest confutation of this treacherous clame. It is therein most plainly and explicitly said, that to Eumenes is made a grant of Chersonesus and Lyfimachia. But where are Ænos, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace mentioned? What he did not so much as dare to ask of them, shall he obtain from you, as having had a former grant of them from the ten commissioners? It next concerns me to ask, on what footing you intend to put me? If you propose to pursue me as

^a 581250 l.

‘ an enemy, go on as you have begun. But if you
 ‘ have any regard for me as a king in friendship and
 ‘ alliance with you, I conjure you not to think me
 ‘ deserving of so great an injury.’

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XXIX.



THIS speech a little moved the commissioners, and they made a more moderate decree. ‘ If the
 ‘ cities in question have been given to Eumenes by
 ‘ a decree of the ten commissioners, we will make
 ‘ no alteration in it. If Philip has taken them in
 ‘ war, let him keep them as the reward of victory.
 ‘ If neither of these are true, it is our pleasure that
 ‘ the cognizance of the affair be refer’d to the senate,
 ‘ and in the mean time the Macedonian garisons
 ‘ shall be withdrawn, that things may be on an
 ‘ equal footing between the contending parties.’
 These were the causes which alienated Philip from the Romans, and it would seem that his son Perseus had no new motives, but what his father had bequeathed to him, of that war which he carried on against them. At Rome they had not the least suspicion of a Macedonian war. L. Manlius the proconsul had returned from Spain. His important victory gave him a right to demand a triumph, when he had his audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona. But there was no precedent in former times, where a triumph had been granted to a general, except he had brought back his army, or had delivered his province in perfect tranquillity to his successor. However he entered the city in an ovation. Before his chariot were carried 52 crowns of gold, 122 pound weight of gold^a, and 16300 of silver^b. Besides he told the senate that his quaestor Q. Fabius was bringing 10000 pound weight of silver^c, and 80 of gold^d, which he would likewise carry into the treasury. That there was a terrible insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. L. Posthumus was praetor of Tarentum in the neighborhood. He pursued a banditti of shepherds, who infested the highways and public pastures, with so much severity, that he con-

^a 5856 l.

^b 48900 l.

^c 30000 l.

^d 3840 l.

demned near 7000. Many of these made their escape, and many were put to death. The consuls having been long detained in Rome by making the levies, at length set out for their provinces.

DURING the same year, C. Calpurnius and L. Quinctius, prætors in Spain, quitted their winter quarters early in the spring, and united their forces in Beturia *. Then they advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy were encamped, ready to act with one mind and counsel. Not far from Hippo and Toledo, a skirmish happened between the foragers on both sides. Supports being sent from each camp by degrees brought out the whole armies. However as it was a tumultuous rencounter, at which the enemy were most dexterous, besides their having the advantage of the ground, the Romans were routed and driven to their lines. But the enemy did not pursue them. The Roman prætors, to avoid being storm'd in their camp next day, marched away silently in the night. At break of day the Spaniards approached it in order of battle; contrary to their expectation they found the Romans had abandoned it with precipitation during the night, so they entered and rifled it. Then they returned to their own, where they remained quiet for several days. About 5000 Romans and Latins were killed in the battle and flight. The enemy armed themselves with their spoils, and then marched to the river Tagus. The Roman prætors spent the interim in drawing auxiliaries from the Spanish cities in their alliance, and reviving the spirits of their soldiers, whom the late defeat had quite sunk. As soon as they thought they had strength sufficient, and their troops demanded to be led against the enemy to wipe off their former disgrace, they moved their camp within five miles of the Tagus. From thence they decamped at the third watch, and arrived by day break at the banks of the river, in a square battalion. The enemy were entrenched on an eminence on the other side. Imme-

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* Between the *Quadalquivir*, and the *Gradiana* in the Farther province.

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 XXX. left passed the river by two fords. All this time the
 enemy made no motion. They were confounded at
 the Romans sudden arrival, and were consulting how
 to harass them in their fording the water. The præ-
 tor having got their baggage over and laid in one
 place, and seeing the enemy move, and that they
 themselves had not room to encamp, drew up in or-
 der of battle. In their center were posted the flower
 of their troops, the fifth legion under Calpurnius,
 and the eighth under Quinctius. Between them and
 the enemy was an open plain, where they had no
 ambush to dread.

CHAP. AS soon as the Spaniards saw the two Roman ar-
 XXXI. mies on the side of the river, they join'd and form'd
 as fast as possible, and in order to gain the plain be-
 fore them, poured out of their lines and advanced to
 the attack. At first the battle was very bloody, the
 Spaniards being flushed with their recent victory, and
 the Romans exasperated by their disgrace, which
 they were strangers to. However the action was
 hottest in the center, where the two legions maintained
 the fight. When the enemy found them impregna-
 ble to all their efforts, they formed a pointed battali-
 on, and with multitudes following each other in close
 order pressed hard upon them. When Calpurnius
 perceived his legions tottering, he sent a lieutenant-
 general to each of them. T. Quintilius Varus and
 L. Juventius Thalna, to encourage them. He or-
 dered these officers to tell them, ' that all the Ro-
 man hopes of reducing and keeping Spain depend-
 ed on them. If they should give way, none of
 their army would ever see either Italy or the other
 bank of the Tagus.' He himself with the cavalry
 of two legions fetched a small compass and flanked
 the pointed battalion, which was pressing hard on his
 centre. Quinctius also with his horse took them in
 the other flank. However Calpurnius fought with
 the greatest ardor, and the prætor outdid them all.
 He killed the first enemy with his own hand, and
 penetrated

penetrated so far amongst the enemy that it was scarce possible to discern to which side he belonged. Yet his valorous efforts spirited on the horse, as theirs did the foot. Shame roused the first centurions, when they saw the prætor among the enemy. So they thrust forward the ensign bearers, ordering them to advance with the colors, and the soldiers to follow with expedition. Upon this they all set up a new shout, and fell, like a torrent from a hill, upon the amazed enemy. They bore down all before them, nor could the Spaniards sustain their charge, they rushed so close one after another. The Roman cavalry pursued the enemy to their camp, and entered it pellmell with them. Here those who had been left to guard it renew'd the battle, and the Romans were forced to dismount and fight on foot. The fifth legion soon arrived to their support, and after them the other troops rushed in as they best could. Only 4000 Spaniards escaped out of their camp. 3000, who had never quitted their arms, seized an adjacent eminence, and about 1000 half arm'd dispersed over the country. This was all that survived of 35000 men. The Romans took 133 ensigns. They lost only, Latins included, 600 with 150 Spanish auxiliaries. Yet they reckon'd it a bloody victory, as they had five legionary tribunes and several Roman knights killed. As they had not had leisure to throw up lines of their own, they staid all night in those of the enemy. Next day at a full assembly Calpurnius commended and rewarded his cavalry with rich furniture for their horses, declaring the defeat of the enemy and taking their camp had been principally owing to their gallant behavior. Quinctius rewarded his with collars and clasps of gold. Many centurions of both armies, especially those who acted in the center, were also rewarded.

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xxxix.

THE consuls having completed the levies, and finished their other affairs at Rome, led their army into Liguria. From Pisa Sempronius marched into the country of the Apuans, where by ravaging their lands, burning the villages and castles, he made a broad

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CHAP. broad way through the forest from the river Macra
xxxii. to the port of Luna. The enemy fled to a high hill,
the usual retreat of their ancestors. However the
consul dislodged them from this difficult post. Clau-
dius did not fall short of his colleague either in success
or valor among the Ingaunians, whom he defeated
in several battles. Besides he took six of their towns,
where he made many prisoners, and beheaded forty
three of the ringleaders in the war. The time of
the elections were now approaching. It had fallen to
Sempronius by lot to preside at the elections; but
Claudius prevented him by getting first to Rome,
because his brother P. Claudius was one of the can-
didates. He had three patrician competitors, L.
Æmilius, Q. Fabius Labeo, and Ser. Sulpicius
Galba, who had formerly been candidates. As the
tribes had formerly rejected their suits for that ho-
norable office, they were under the greater obligati-
ons to serve them now. Besides four patricians
suing for one place, increased the difficulty. The
Plebeian candidates also were men of great in-
terest, L. Porcius, Q. Terentius Culleo, and Cn.
Bæbius Tamphilus. They had also been formerly
rejected, but with assurances that they should some
time or other be raised to that dignity. Claudius
was the only new candidate. The people were all
inclined to confer the consulate on Q. Fabius Labeo
and L. Porcius Licinus. But Claudius, without his
lictors, led his brother in his hand through the tribes,
while his adversaries and the majority of the senate
remonstrated aloud, ‘ that Claudius ought rather to
‘ remember that he was a consul, than that Publius
‘ was his brother. It was his business to sit upon the
‘ tribunal either as president, or a silent spectator of
‘ the elections.’ However he could not be restrained
from zealously mixing with the crowd. The assem-
bly was likewise disturbed by the contest among the
tribunes, some of them blaming and others commend-
ing his zeal in serving his brother. At length Ap-
pius prevailed, and engaged the tribes to reject Fa-
bius and chuse his brother. Thus he got the fasces
contrary

contrary to his own and all men's expectations. L. Porcius Licinus maintained his ground, because his competitors were moderate men, who did not, like Claudius, use violence to support their claims. Then the elections for prætors were held. And C. Decimus Flavius, P. Sempronius Longus, P. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Nævius Matho, C. Sempronius Blæsus, and A. Terentius Varro, were raised to that dignity. These were the civil and military transactions, during the consulate of Ap. Claudius and M. Sempronius.

IN the beginning of the following year, and consulate of P. Claudius and L. Porcius, the three commissioners, Q. Cæcilius, M. Bæbius, and T. Sempronius, who had been sent to accommodate the differences between Philip, Eumenes and the states of Theffaly, returned and gave an account of their negotiation: they likewise introduced the deputies of these kings and states to the senate. These only repeated what had been said in Greece. Then the senate appointed a new commission, at the head of which was Appius Claudius, to go into Greece and Macedonia and examine whether Philip had restored the cities he promised to the Rhodians, Theffalians and Perrhœbians, and to order him to evacuate Ænos and Maronea, and all the Places wherein he had garisons on the coasts of Thrace. They were also directed to go to Peloponnesus, where the former commissioners had left every thing in the same unsettled condition, in which they found them. For besides other affronts, the Achæans had refused to assemble a diet to give them audience, and dismissed them without an answer to their demands. Q. Cæcilius complained heavily of this treatment. The ambassadors from Lacedæmon also complained that their walls had been demolished, their people carried off and sold for slaves in Achæa, and that they had been deprived of the laws of Lycurgus, which till that time had been the main support of their state. The Achæans excused the charge brought against them by Cæcilius, by citing a law, which prohibited the summoning

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P. Claud.
Pulcher and
L. Porcius
Licinius,
consuls.
Y. of R. 568.
B. J. C. 184.

moning a diet, except to deliberate on peace or war, or when ambassadors came from the senate with letters or written instructions. To prevent this excuse for the future, the senate represented, that as they had audience of the fathers whenever they pleased, so they should take care that Roman ambassadors should have the same privilege in Achaia.

CHAP. AFTER the deputies were gone, and Philip
xxxiv. had learned from his, that he must absolutely deliver up and evacuate the cities, though he was enraged against them all, yet he wreaked his vengeance principally against the Maronites. He gave orders to Onomastus, governor of the sea coast, to massacre the chief men of the faction that opposed him. Onomastus employ'd Cassander, one of the king's officers, who had long lived at Maronea, to let in a body of Thracians by night, and then sack it as if it had been taken by storm. The Maronites complained to the Roman commissioners ' of the cruelty exercised
' upon their innocent people, who they had butcher-
' ed like enemies, and the insult that thereby was
' done to the Romans, whose senate had decreed
' that they should be free.' Philip deny'd, ' that
' either he or any of his officers had any hand in
' it. In the heat of their quarrels, while some declar-
' ed for him, and others for Eumenes, they had cut
' one another's throats. This you may be fully in-
' formed of, if you will examine the Maronites them-
' selves.' This he proposed from a confident assurance, that they were all so terrify'd with the recent massacre, that they would not dare to mutter a word against him. But Appius answered, ' It was need-
' less to make enquiries about a thing already known.
' If Philip intended to clear himself, he should send
' Onomastus and Cassander, who were said to have
' committed the crime, to Rome, to be examined
' by the senate.' Philip changed color and was so confounded, that he could not utter a word: yet recovering himself, he said, ' As to Cassander, who
' was then at Maronea, I will send him whenever
' you will. But how could Onomastus have a hand

in

‘ in it? He had neither been in Maronea, nor near
 ‘ it.’ He was more desirous to save Onomastus, be-
 cause he was a greater favorite; and was more afraid
 of his discovering his secrets, because he had been
 much in his confidence, and been employ’d by him
 in many such execrable commissions. It was believed,
 that to prevent Cassander’s telling tales, he dispatched
 some persons through Epire, to overtake him before
 he embarked, and they poisoned him.

WHEN the conference broke off, the commissi-
 oners let Philip plainly see, that they were dissatisfy’d
 with his conduct. This convinced Philip the war
 would soon be renewed. But not being sufficiently
 prepared for it, to gain time, he resolved to send
 his youngest son Demetrius to Rome, both to clear
 himself of the crimes with which he was charged,
 and to mollify the resentment of the senate. He
 flattered himself, that this son, who when a hostage
 at Rome had given indications of a princely disposi-
 tion, would have great influence with them. In the
 mean time he set out with a great army, under pre-
 text of aiding the Byzantines. But his real view
 was, to strike terror into all the petty kings of Thrace.
 Accordingly, having vanquished them in a battle, and
 taken their general Amadocus prisoner, he returned to
 Macedonia, after having sent to solicit the barbarous
 nations on the Ister to make an irruption into Italy.
 The Roman commissioners, who had been ordered
 to go from Macedonia into Achaia, were impatiently
 expected in Peloponnesus. That the Acheans might
 have an answer ready for them, Lycortas the prætor
 summoned an assembly beforehand, to consult about
 the affairs of Lacedæmon. ‘ The Spartans, said
 ‘ they, of our enemies are become our accusers.
 ‘ They are like to prove more formidable to us, now
 ‘ they are vanquished, than they were when at war
 ‘ with us. For the Romans then assisted us, but
 ‘ now shew more favor to them. This is owing to
 ‘ Areus and Alcibiades, two Spartan exiles, whom
 ‘ we reinstated in their country. They, who were
 ‘ under such strong obligations to us, have gone on
 ‘ an

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‘ an embassy to Rome, and there inveighed as
 ‘ bitterly against us, as if we had banished them
 ‘ instead of restoring them to their native country.’
 At which words the whole assembly cry’d out, to
 move the diet to punish them. In consequence they
 took council only of their passion, and without
 hearkening to reason, condemned them to death.
 Within a few days the Roman commissioners arriv-
 ed. A diet was summoned to meet at Clitor^a, a city
 of Arcadia, to give them audience.

CHAP. BUT before they entered on any deliberation
 xxxvi. the Achæans were struck with a panic. When they
 saw Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had condemn-
 ed in a former diet, in the retinue of the commissio-
 ners, they reflected under what disadvantages they
 were to plead their cause; neither indeed durst any
 of them mutter a word. Appius told them the senate
 was extremely displeased with their conduct in regard
 to what the Spartans had complained of. ‘ In the
 ‘ first place they are offended, that contrary to the
 ‘ public faith, those whom Philopœmen had cited
 ‘ to vindicate themselves, had been killed in a tu-
 ‘ multuary rencounter. In the next place, after they
 ‘ had satiated their resentment, by the death of these
 ‘ innocent men, that their cruelty might extend to
 ‘ every thing, they had razed the walls of that superb
 ‘ city, abolished it’s ancient laws, and exterminated
 ‘ the institutions of Lycurgus, celebrated for their
 ‘ wisdom over all that country.’ This speech of
 Appius was answered by Lycortas, both because he
 was prætor of Achaia, and because he was of the
 same faction with Philopœmen, who was deemed the
 author of all that had been acted at Lacedæmon. ‘ We
 ‘ find more difficulty, Ap. Claudius, said he, to speak
 ‘ before you now, than we did some time ago before
 ‘ your senate. Then we had only the accusations of
 ‘ the Lacedæmons to answer; but now our judge is
 ‘ become our accuser. However we submit to en-
 ‘ ter this unequal list, in hopes, that you will lay
 ‘ aside the prejudices and prepossessions you just now

^a Now Cleutorio.

‘ shew’d,

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shew'd, and hear us with the impartiality of an honest judge. What you have just now repeated being the same complaints which the Lacedæmonians formerly laid before Q. Cæcilius in this country, and afterwards before the senate of Rome, I shall look upon myself as answering them, not you. It is objected, that those who were demanded by our prætor Philopœmen, were murdered, when they came to his camp to plead their cause. I thought, Romans, that we should never have been charged with this as a crime, either by you, or before you. But perhaps you'll ask, why? Was it not an express article of the treaty granted by you, that the Lacedæmonians should not meddle with the maritime towns? And yet they took arms, and in the night forcibly seized those cities which you had forbidden them to touch. Had Flamininus with a Roman army been, as formerly, in Peloponnesus, they would have applied for relief to him, when they were thus treacherously surprized and taken. But as your aid was so remote, into whose arms could they throw themselves, but into ours, who were your allies, and whom they had seen before succoring the Gythians, and attacking Lacedæmon in conjunction with you, and for a like cause? It was then to avenge your quarrel, that we undertook this just and pious war. Others commended this step we took, and even the Spartans cannot charge it upon us as a crime. The very Gods approved it, when they granted us victory. How comes it then that we are called to an account for what the rights of war warrant? Besides the greatest part of the accusation doth not concern us. Have we any thing more to answer for, than that we sent for those to vindicate themselves, who had excited their mob to take arms, had taken and rifled the maritime towns, and massacred their principal men? Can we be charged with killing them on their way to our camp? No. You are the guilty persons, Areus and Alcibiades, who, God forgive you, now are become our accusers. The
Spartan

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‘ Spartan exiles (of which number those two were)
 ‘ who served then in our army, imagining their
 ‘ countrymen aim’d at taking away their lives, be-
 ‘ cause they had chose the maritime cities as their
 ‘ retreat, fell upon them, being enraged, that it was
 ‘ by their means they had been banished from their
 ‘ native country, and been prevented from spending
 ‘ their old age in safe and quiet exile. It was not we
 ‘ then, but the Lacedæmonians, who killed their
 ‘ countrymen; whether justly or unjustly, it does
 ‘ not concern us to dispute.

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‘ BUT you’ll say, that beyond controversy it
 ‘ was the Achæans, who abolished the ancient laws
 ‘ and institutions of Lycurgus, and destroy’d the
 ‘ walls of Sparta. But how can we be charged with
 ‘ both these, by the same men, when the walls of
 ‘ Sparta were not built by Lycurgus, and only a
 ‘ few years ago with a view to abolish his wise regu-
 ‘ lations? Their tyrants lately built them, not as a
 ‘ defence for the city, but as a citadel and fortress
 ‘ for themselves. Was Lycurgus this day to rise
 ‘ from the dead, he would rejoice to see them in
 ‘ ruins, and would own that now he knew it to be
 ‘ the ancient Sparta and really his native country.
 ‘ You Spartans should not have waited till Philopœ-
 ‘ men and the Achæans had demolished and razed
 ‘ your walls, but ought to have performed that work
 ‘ with your own hands. They were (so to speak)
 ‘ the deformed scars of your slavery. After you
 ‘ had lived free during 800 years without walls, nay
 ‘ for some part of that time, had been lords of Greece,
 ‘ you have been pen’d up for 100 years within walls,
 ‘ like slaves with fetters on their feet. As to the
 ‘ taking away your laws, I may boldly affirm, that
 ‘ your tyrants abolished your ancient statutes. So
 ‘ far from depriving you of them, we gave you our
 ‘ own, when you had none. In that we consulted
 ‘ the interest of your state. We thereby incorporated
 ‘ you into our own, that in Peloponnesus there might
 ‘ be only one state; one form of policy. In conse-
 ‘ quence then I think, they might have complain’d

of having been hardly dealt by, they would have had cause of resentment, if we had lived under one form of laws, and enjoined them a different one.

I am sensible, Appius, that my speech is not at all suitable from allies to allies, or to an independent republic; but has the air of a dispute between slaves, before their master. For if the voice of your herald, which proclaimed our freedom, before that of any other state, was not an empty sound, if the treaty made with us was firmly ratify'd, if the amity and alliance between us is to be honorably maintain'd, may not I as well enquire about your proceedings, when you took Capua, as you demand an account of our treatment of the Lacedæmonians, whom we vanquished in war? Suppose we put some of them to death; what then? Did not you behead the senators of Capua? We demolished their walls. Well! you not only dismantled Capua, but took the city and its territories from the inhabitants. You will say, that the treaty between us is only in appearance equal, but in reality our liberty is precarious, and Rome is our mistress. I am sensible of it, Appius; and if I must not, I will not be angry. But I implore you, whatever difference there is between your condition and ours, let not your enemies be on an equal, nay a better, footing with you, than us your allies. That they might be upon an equality with us, we gave them our own laws, and made them part of our body politic. But the vanquished are not satisfy'd with what contents the conquerors. Your enemies demand privileges above what your allies enjoy. Yet they would have us sacrifice our faith and violate a treaty ratify'd by the most solemn oaths and engraven on stone as a perpetual monument to all posterity. No! Romans, we honor you more, nay, if you will, we fear you; but still we reverence and dread the immortal Gods more.' The majority of the audience heard this speech with great approbation, and all thought he

CHAP. had spoke with that dignity that became his office,
 XXXVII. infomuch as it was visible the Romans could not maintain their authority by gentle management. Appius with an imperious air advised the Achæans to conciliate favor by a voluntary compliance, while they had it in their power, lest they should soon be compel'd to it against their inclination. This magisterial language drew groans from the whole assembly, but they were afraid to refuse doing what they were ordered. They only beg'd, that the Romans themselves would make what alterations they pleased with respect to the Lacedæmonians, and not force the Achæans sacrilegiously to break their oaths. Appius contented himself with disannulling the sentence of death, that had been passed against Areus and Alcibiades.

CHAP. IN the beginning of the year, when the senate
 XXXVIII. was moved to determine the provinces of the consuls and prætors, they allotted Liguria to both the consuls, because they had war no where else. The prætor Flavus by lot got the jurisdiction of the city; Cethegus that of foreigners; Blæsus, Sicily; Matho, Sardinia, with commission to enquire into some treacherous practices by poison; Varro, the Hither, and Longus, the Farther Spain. About the same time messengers arrived from Thalna and Varus, who commanded in those provinces. After they had informed the senate what a vast war they had terminated, they demanded that thanks should be returned to the immortal Gods for their victory, and that the prætors should be allowed to bring back their armies. A supplication was appointed for two days, but they deferred determining about bringing back the legions, till the provinces of the consuls and prætors were settled. A few days after the two legions, which Claudius and Sempronius had commanded in Liguria, were allotted to the new consuls. Then ensued a great struggle about the armies in Spain, between the new prætors and the friends of Thalna and Varus, who were absent. Both consuls and plebeian
 tribunes

tribunes took different sides in the contest. One party declared, they would interpose their authority, in case the senate should order the armies to be brought back; and the other affirmed, that if that negative was put, they would not suffer any other business to be transacted. At last the friends of the absent prætors were obliged to submit, and the senate passed a decree, 'that the new prætors should levy 4000 Roman foot, and 400 horse, with 5000 Latin infantry, and 500 cavalry, to carry into Spain. After they had incorporated them in the legions there, they should disband all above the number of 5000 foot and 300 horse in each legion. In discharging them they should first have regard to those who had served the greatest number of campaigns, and next to those whom Thalna and Varus should recommend for their valorous exploits.'

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NO sooner was this contest ended, than the death of the prætor C. Decimius Flavus occasioned another. The candidates for his office were Cn. Sicinius and L. Puppius, who had been ædiles the preceding year, C. Valerius priest of Jupiter, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. The latter, being curule ædile elect, appeared without a whited robe, but stir'd more than all the rest. He had a violent struggle with the flamen. At first it appeared he had only an equal number of votes, but soon after, when it was evident he had a majority, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted that no regard should be had to him, because one person could neither take nor discharge two magistracies at once, especially curule ones. Others of them, on the contrary, declared it reasonable that the laws should be dispensed with in his case, that the people might be left at liberty to confer the prætorship on whom they pleased. At first the consul Porcius seemed resolved not to admit his name in the list of candidates. But in order to have the authority of the fathers for this step, he assembled the senate, and told them, 'that it was a thing unprecedented, and contrary to law, in a free state, for a

CHAP.
XXXIX.

CHAP. ^{curule ædile elect to stand for the prætorship. For}
 xxxix. ^{his part he was resolved, unless they pleased to or-}
 der the contrary, to hold the comitia in the man-
 ner prescribed by law.' The fathers recommended
 to him to deal with Fulvius, not to obstruct the hold-
 ing the comitia in a legal manner for electing a præ-
 tor in the Rome of C. Decimius. The consul used
 his interest with him agreeable to the senate's order,
 and Fulvius answered, 'that he would do nothing
 unworthy of his character.' This answer of his,
 which was not sufficiently explicit, made the consul
 and senate hope, they might hence conclude, that he
 acquiesced in the authority of the fathers. But at the
 time of election he canvassed with more fury than
 ever, accusing the consul and senate of a design to
 wrest from him the favors of the Roman people, and
 to render him odious by a false insinuation, that he
 intended to keep two offices; as if it was not clear,
 that as soon as he should be nominated prætor, he
 must resign the ædileship. When the consul saw
 that the candidate persisted with greater obstinacy in
 his suit, and that the people were more and more in-
 clined to favor him, he dismissed the comitia, and
 assembled the senate. The fathers unanimously de-
 creed, that since Flaccus paid no regard to their au-
 thority, the consul should expostulate with him be-
 fore the people. Accordingly an assembly was called,
 and the consul used his interest with him to desist,
 But it made no impression on Fulvius. On the con-
 trary, he thanked the Roman people for their zeal-
 ous intentions to chuse him, and shewing their af-
 fection to him whenever they had opportunity. And
 he was resolved never to renounce the favor they had
 for him. This obstinate speech enflamed their affec-
 tion for him to such a degree, that he had certainly
 been elected prætor, if the consul would have suf-
 fered his name to be put in the list. The tribunes
 had a great struggle among themselves, and with the
 consul, till the latter assembled the senate, who passed
 a decree, 'that since by the obstinacy of Q. Flaccus
 ' legal

‘ legal comitia could not be held for the election of a
 ‘ new prætor, it was their opinion that they needed
 ‘ none, and that Cethegus should have both the ju-
 ‘ risdictions in the city, and celebrate the games in
 ‘ honor of Apollo.’

THE prudence and steadiness of the fathers hav- CHAP.
 ing put an end to these comitia, there happened a XL.
 more violent struggle, both by it's being for a higher
 office, and between a greater number of powerful
 competitors. L. Valerius Flaccus, the two Scipios,
 Africanus and Asiaticus, Cn. Manlius Vulso, and L.
 Furius Purpureo, all patricians; and four plebeians,
 M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Tib. Sem-
 pronius Longus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, used
 their utmost efforts to be elected censors. But Cato's
 merit was far superior to that of his patrician and
 plebeian rivals, though descended of families of the
 greatest distinction. He possessed such a magnanimi-
 ty of soul and strength of genius, that in whatever
 state he had been born, he must have raised himself
 to the highest dignities. He wanted no talent requi-
 site for private or public life. He was equally skill-
 ed in city and country business. Knowledge of the
 law has raised some to honorable offices, eloquence
 another, and military abilities a third. But Cato
 had so universal a genius, that whatever he applied
 it to, nature seemed to have designed him for that a-
 lone. In war he was a valiant and hardy soldier,
 and eminently distinguished by many particular acts
 of valor. When he did arrive to a chief command,
 he proved a very able general. In times of peace
 his knowledge of the Roman laws and constitution
 qualified him to be an able counsellor, and in plead-
 ing at the bar he shewed himself a great orator. His
 eloquence did not only shew it's strength during his
 life, without leaving some monuments behind it.
 No! it still lives, and will be immortal by his excel-
 lent compositions of all kinds. He pronounced ma-
 ny orations in defence of himself and friends, and
 many against his adversaries. For he not only teaz-
 ed

CHAP. ed his adversaries with accusations, but even with
 XL. defences of himself. He was not only tormented
 himself with malicious suits, but even retorted them
 upon others. Neither can it be easily determined,
 whether the nobility were greater enemies to him, or
 he to them. He certainly had a severe and rugged
 temper, and was immoderately plain and poignant
 in satyrical invectives. He had a heart invincible to
 voluptuous passions and appetites, and the whole te-
 nor of his life was free from taint of vice. He de-
 spised favors and riches. He was so abstemious, in-
 defatigable in fatigues, and intrepid in dangers, that
 it might be said he had a body and courage of iron:
 Nay, old age, which subdues all things, could not
 break his great spirit. When he was 86 years old
 he took his trial, and both spoke and wrote in his
 own defence. In the 90th year of his age, he pro-
 secuted Sergius Galba before the people.

CHAP. THE nobility opposed him with vigor during
 XLI. all his life, but more particularly when he stood for
 offices, and at this time all the candidates, except L.
 Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulate,
 united their interest to exclude him from this honor.
 This they did not so much from a desire to obtain it
 for themselves, or because they could not endure to
 see a NEW MAN chosen censor; but because they
 foresaw his censorship would be austere, and dange-
 rous to the reputations of many, as he had received
 many personal injuries, and had a strong passion to
 resent them. In this canvassing he even used mena-
 ces, loudly declaring that they opposed him because
 they dreaded a free and vigorous censorship. At the
 same time he recommended the cause of Flaccus, in-
 sisting that himself and so firm a colleague were alone
 capable of checking the new abuses, and restoring
 the ancient discipline. These considerations made so
 strong an impression on the minds of the people, that,
 notwithstanding the violent opposition of the nobility,
 they not only raised Cato to the censorship, but gave
 him Flaccus for his colleague. After this election was
 over,

over, the consuls and prætors set out for their provinces, all except Nævius. He was to have gone to Sardinia, but had been detained four months in the cognizance of the poisoning practices. He held his court, as more convenient than in the city, for the most part in the municipal towns and market places. If we may believe Valerius Antias, he condemned above 2000 persons. L. Posthumius, prætor of Tarentum, punished the gang of shepherds who infested the roads, and with great rigor exterminated the remains of the bacchanalians. Many of them who had run away from their bail, or had not appeared when cited, but lurked in those parts of Italy, he either condemned, or sent them to Rome, where P. Cornelius threw them all into prison.

AS the last battle in Further Spain had quite broke the strength of the Lusitanians, that province was in perfect tranquillity. A. Terentius took Corbio in the country of the Sueffetani, and sold the prisoners for slaves. By this means the Hither Province continued quiet all the winter. The former prætors Thalna and Varus returned to Rome, and the fathers unanimously decreed a triumph to both. Thalna had his first for the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession 83 crowns of gold, and 12000 pound weight of silver. A few days after Varus triumphed for the same people, and carried in procession the same quantity of silver and gold. The censors, Cato and Flaccus, reviewed the senate, who both expected and dreaded their severity. They degraded seven members, among whom was L. Quinctius Flaminius, a man of consular dignity, and eminent both for his birth and the honors he had enjoy'd. Some ages before it had been made a rule, that the censors, when they stigmatized any senator, should give their reasons for so doing. Besides other severe speeches of Cato's, those he made against the senators and knights he degraded are still extant. But that against L. Quinctius is so solidly severe, that if he had pronounced it as an accuser before he had stigmatized him,

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and not after as censor, even T. Flamininus, Lucius's brother, had he been censor, could not have kept him in the senate. Amongst other crimes, he charged him with having enticed, by promises of great presents, a noble Carthaginian, named Philip, for whom he had conceived a detestable passion, to go with him into Gaul. When the consul lasciviously played the wanton with this pathic, he used to upbraid him, that in complaisance to his lover he had just left Rome, when a combat of gladiators was to be exhibited. It happened that as they were at table and exhilarated with wine, the consul was informed that a Boian nobleman with his children was come as a deserter, and desired to speak with Lucius in person, that he might put himself under his protection. Being brought into the general's tent, he began to address him by an interpreter. In midst of his speech the consul said to his favorite pathic, ' Since in complaisance to me you left the shew of gladiators, will you see this Gaul die a violent death?' Hardly with a serious air did Philip nod an assent. But the consul upon the signal of this prostitute drew his sword, which hung above his head, and first struck the Gaul, as he was speaking, over the head, and then pursuing him as he fled, imploring the protection of the Roman people, and of those who were present, run him into the side.

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XLIII.

VALERIUS ANTIAS, who, without having ever read Cato's oration, gave credit to a fabulous report, tells this story with different circumstances, except as to the consul's detestable passion and cruelty. He says, that while Quinctius was at Placentia, he sent for a courtesan, whom he doated on, to an entertainment, where, among other bravadoes, he told her, how rigorous he had been in taking cognizance of the rebellion, and how many prisoners he had in chains whom he had condemned to be beheaded. As she sat next below him at table, she told him she had never seen an execution, and had a great curiosity to see one. Her indulgent lover immediately ordered one of the wretches to be brought, and

beheaded.

beheaded before her. This was a cruel and horrid action, whether the matter be as Valerius represents it, or as Cato laid it in the indictment. For what could be more shocking, than amidst wine and good cheer, where it was customary to invoke the blessing of the Gods, to sacrifice a human victim, and sprinkle the table with his blood, to gratify a wanton whore who leaned on his breast? Cato, in the conclusion of his speech, desired that if Quinctius intended to deny that particular fact, and what else he had objected to him, he should first give surety to pay a certain fine in case he was convicted; but if he confessed it, to consider that none would grieve at the mark of ignominy put upon him, who, mad with lust and wine, had in pastime taken away a man's life at an entertainment.

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IN reviewing the knights, he took the horse furnished at the public charge from Asiaticus. In taxing the estates of the senators, he was extremely rigid and severe. He ordered his clerks to register all the womens trinkets, rich clothes and chariots, which could be estimated at above 15000 asses; also the slaves under 20 years of age, which any one had purchased since the last lustrum, either at or above the price of 10000 asses. All these he ordered to be taxed at ten times more than they cost; so that the possessors paid at the rate of 3 per 1000 for them. These censors also cut off the public waters which run into the houses or fields of private persons, and ordered all private houses that were built on the public ground, and the balconies of private houses to be pulled down within 30 days. With the money produced by these taxes, they lined with free stone the basons that held the water, cleansed the old common sewers, and built new ones on mount Aventine and other places where there had been none before. Flavius undertook, separate from his colleague, to lay a causeway to the springs of Neptunium, and to level a road over the mountain of Formiæ. Cato purchased for the public two pieces of ground in the place where crimi-

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CHAP. criminals were punished, from Mænius and Titius, and four shops. He likewise built there a court of justice, which was called Porcius's hall. The cen-
XLIV. sors also raised the public revenues, which before had been let at a low price. Yet the senate, moved by the prayers and tears of the farmers, ordered those leases to be cancel'd, and the revenues to be auctioned anew. But the cenfors by an edict removed from the place of auction all who had been concerned in disannulling their leases, and with some small abatement let them to others. This was a very remarkable censorship, but it involved Cato, who was reckoned the author of the severity with which it was exercised, in many suits, which tormented him as long as he lived. This year colonies were settled at Pol-
 lentia^a in Picinum, and Pisaurum^b in Cisalpine Gaul. Each planter had 7 acres of land assigned him. The same commissioners as formerly, Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Fulvius Flaccus, and Q. Fulvius Nobilior, divided the lands, and settled the colony. The consuls of this year did nothing remarkable either at home or abroad.

CHAP. THE consuls for the next year were M. Claudius
XLV. Marcellus and Q. Fabius Labeo. The very day they entered into their office, they moved the senate to determine their and the prætors provinces. The
 M. Claud. Marcellus, Q. Fab. Labeo, consuls. new prætors were C. Valerius Flaccus, priest of Ju-
 Y. of R. 569. piter, who had been a candidate the preceding year, B. J. C. 183. Sp. Posthumius Albinus, P. Cornelius Sisenna, L. Pupius, L. Julius, and Cn. Sicinius. The province of Liguria, with the armies commanded by Claudius and Porcius, the preceding consuls, were allotted to the present. Two prætors of the former year were continued in Spain. It was ordered that the priest of Jupiter should only cast lots for the offices in the city. He got the jurisdiction of foreigners; Sisenna, that of citizens; Albinus, Sicily; Pupius, Apulia; Ju-

^a It took its name from a river rising in the *Apennines*, and falling into the *Adriatic*.

^b Now *Pesaro*, in the duchy of *Urbino*.

lius, Gaul; and Sicinius, Sardinia. Julius was ordered to repair to his province with all expedition. Some of the Transalpine Gauls having entered Italy by defiles hitherto unknown (as we have already mentioned) were building a city in the country of the Veneti, near Aquileia. The prætor was ordered to interrupt their work, without employing force of arms, as long as he could avoid it; and if there was a necessity to compel them to desist by arms, he should apprize the consuls of it. For it was the senate's pleasure that one of them should lead the legions against them.

TOWARDS the end of the preceding year, CHAP. the comitia had been held to chuse an augur in room XLVI. of Cn. Cornelius, who had died some time before. Sp. Posthumius Albinus was chosen to succede him. In the beginning of this year, P. Licinius Crassus, the pontifex maximus, died, and to his office of priest was chosen M. Sempronius Tuditanus, and to that of pontifex maximus, C. Servilius Geminus. Licinius's funeral was honored with a dole of raw flesh, and a combat between 60 pair of gladiators. His funeral games lasted three days, and after them a grand entertainment. When the tables were spread for this purpose, all over the forum, so great a storm arose with terrible rain, that most of the company were obliged to pitch tents to cover them. They were removed as soon as the weather became fair, and hereby it was said the Romans got rid of a religious fear occasioned by a prophecy in the Sybil's books, that they should be obliged to pitch tents in the forum. But another cause of fear soon succeeded this; it rained blood for two days in the court-yard of the temple of Vulcan. To expiate this prodigy, the decemvirs ordered a supplication for two days. Before the consuls set out for their province, they introduced the ambassadors from beyond sea into the senate. Never before had so great a number of foreigners been seen at Rome. From the time the report had spread among the states bordering upon Mace-

Macedonia, that the Romans had given a favorable hearing to the charges and complaints brought against Philip, and that many had found their advantage in it; a great number of states and nations, nay even private persons, to whom Philip had proved an oppressive neighbor, came to Rome, in hopes either of obtaining redress of their grievances, or at least to have the consolation of deploring them. Eumenes had sent a deputation, at the head of which was his brother Athenæus, to complain, that Philip had not yet evacuated Thrace, and of his having sent aid to Prusias, king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes.

CHAP.
XLVII.

THE person who was to answer all the charges brought against Philip was his son Demetrius, who was then very young. But it is not easy to remember every particular objected to him with their answers. For besides that the articles were very many in number, they were for the most part of less consequence than disputes about towns; viz. controversies about land marks, carrying off men and cattle, about partial administration of justice, or refusing it altogether; about sentences passed either by force or favor. The senate, perceiving that Demetrius could not give a distinct answer, or set the controversy in a true light, besides concerned to see a young prince, unaccustomed to speak in public, quite confounded, ordered him to be asked, whether the king his father had not given him some memorandums relating to the business. He answering in the affirmative, they thought it best to hear the king's own answers to each particular article. So they immediately demanded a sight of the notes, and then gave him permission to read them himself. His answers to each particular were very short: some things he had done in pursuance of the decrees of the Roman commissioners, and that he had not executed others was to be charged on his accusers not on him. He had larded his defence with complaints of the injustice of the decrees; that the dispute before Cæcilius had not been managed

managed with equity, and as if he had had no me- CHAP.
rit, every person had insulted him. The senate look- XLVII.
ed upon those as plain indications of Philip's being

greatly irritated against them. However as his son apologized for some, and as to others promised, that for the future the senate's pleasure should be exactly observed in every thing, they thought fit to give him the following answer. ' Philip could not have acted a wiser part, or one more agreeable to the senate, than sending his son Demetrius to apologize to the Romans for his conduct. As to what is past we can overlook, forget and endure many things, and for the future we believe we may rely on the promises of Demetrius. Though he is in person to return to his father, yet he leaves his heart as a hostage with us; and we are sensible, that he will be a friend to the Romans, as far as is consistent with his duty to his father. Out of regard to him, we will send another embassy to the court of Macedon, that, without mentioning past acts of disobedience, what had been neglected to be performed at the time stipulated might now be done. And let Philip remember, that he is entirely indebted to our regard to his son Demetrius, for this indulgence of the Romans.'

THESE marks of distinction, confer'd with a CHAP.
view to gain the young prince credit with his father, XLVIII.
soon excited envy against him, and in the sequel
turned to his destruction. Then the deputies from Sparta were introduced. They made many trifling complaints. The only demand of consequence that they made was to know, whether those whom the Achæans had condemned should be restored; whether the persons they had put to death had suffered justly; and lastly, whether they were to remain a part of the Achæan state, or, as formerly, enjoy their own laws and privileges, distinct from the states of Peloponnesus. The senate decreed, that the condemned persons should be restored, and the sentence against them reversed; that Lacedæmon should be a
part

part of the Achæan body, and that both parties should sign and seal this decree. Q. Marcius was sent embassador to Macedonia, with orders likewise to take cognizance of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus. For the old animosities still occasioned some troubles in that country, and the Messenians had separated from the Achæan body. But should I enter into a detail of the causes and progress of that war, I should forget the rule I laid down to myself, not to meddle with foreign affairs, farther than they are connected with those of Rome.

CHAP.

XLIX.

HOWEVER I must mention one memorable incident of it. Though the Achæans had by far the advantage in the war, yet their prætor Philopœmen was taken prisoner, as he was marching to seize Corone, before the enemy could be masters of it. He was surprized in a defile with a few horse. It is said that he himself might have escaped by the help of some Thracians and Cretans. But he was ashamed to abandon his cavalry, who were the finest youth of the nation, whom he had lately engaged to follow him to the war. In order to facilitate their escape out of the defile, he posted himself in the rear, to sustain the charges of the enemy. But his horse stumbling, he fell to the ground and the animal above him, so that he was left motionless. He was then seventy years of age, and but very weak, having been just recovered from a fit of sickness. The enemy rode over him as he lay in this posture. But as soon as they knew him, from a grateful regard to his person, and a remembrance of his exploits, they took him up, as if he had been their own general, brought him to himself, and carried him out of the defile into the high way. They could scarce believe their eyes, they were so overjoyed at this unexpected prize, and some of them sent expresses to Messene, to inform their countrymen, that the war was finally ended, for they were bringing Philopœmen prisoner. At first the thing seem'd so incredible, that they looked upon the messenger, not only as a liar, but

as a madman. But one after another arriving with CHAP.
the news, convinced them at length that it was true. XLIX.

Nay before they were sufficiently certain that he was near the city, freemen and slaves, women and children, all ran out to see him. As none would give absolute credit to the news, till they had each been eye witnesses of the truth of it, they poured out in so great a hurry, that they choaked up the gates. They who guarded him had great difficulty to make their way through the crowds they met and get in at the gates. The press was so great, that they blocked up all the rest of the street. As the greatest part of them had been excluded from the show, they filled the theatre, that stood hard by the street, and with one voice demanded, that he should be brought thither and shewn to them. The magistrates and principal men, fearing lest the presence of so great a man should excite the people's compassion, and raise some commotion, as some might be affected by the comparison of his former majesty with his present condition, and others by the remembrance of his great exploits, placed him in their view at a great distance. But they hurried him away precipitately, their prætor Dinocrates pretending, that the magistrates had some questions to ask him concerning the state of the war. So they carried him to the senate-house, where the members being assembled, they began to deliberate about his fate.

THE day was drawing towards a close, and so CHAP.
far were they from being able to determine other L.
things concerning him, that they did not know
where to secure him during the ensuing night. They were confounded when they reflected on the greatness of his former fortune and valor, and none of them would venture to keep him in his own house, or trust him to the custody of any one citizen. At last some of them hinted the putting him in a subterraneous cavern, which was called the treasury, the mouth of which was stopt with a great stone. Into this they put him bound, and then by a crane put a great

CHAP. great stone to stop it up. Thus relying more on
L. the strength of this place, than on the fidelity of any
 man for his safe keeping, they with impatience
 long'd for morning. Next day the multitude, call-
 ing to mind the former service he had done their
 state, unanimously declared for sparing him, that by
 his means they might find a remedy for their cala-
 mities. But the authors of the revolt, who had the
 chief administration of the state in their hands, in a
 private meeting resolved he should be put to death.
 The only dispute among them was whether their
 sentence should be executed immediately, or delay'd
 for some time. But that party which thirsted for his
 blood, prevailed to have a cup of poison sent him
 directly. When he received it, he said no more,
 than calmly asked the executioner, whether Lycortas,
 the other Achæan general, had escaped safe with the
 horse. When the executioner answered in the affir-
 mative, he said, thanks to the Gods, and drinking
 the potion without the least emotion expired within a
 few hours. However the joy of the cruel authors of
 his death was very short-lived. For the Achæans,
 having vanquished the Messenians, demanded the
 assassins. The bones of Philopœmen were restored,
 and were buried by the whole state of Achaia, who,
 in conferring all earthly honors upon his remains,
 could not even forbear worshiping him as a God.
 Greek and Latin historians had so great an opinion
 of this general's worth and abilities, that some of
 them have handed down to posterity, that this year
 was particularly remarkable for the deaths of the
 three greatest captains of their time, Philopœmen,
 Hannibal and Scipio Africanus; so much did they
 think him worthy to be ranked with the two most
 illustrious generals of the two most powerful states.

CHAP. T. QUINCTIUS Flaminius was sent em-
LI. bassador to Prusias king of Bithynia, whom the
 Romans suspected of hostile intentions, because he
 had given refuge to Hannibal when he fled from
 Antiochus, and besides had made war upon Eume-
 nes.

nes. Prusias, either because Flaminius complain'd, CHAP.
that he entertain'd the most inveterate enemy of the
Romans then living, who had stir'd up war against
them first in his own country, and then, when it's
power was reduced, had excited Antiochus to take
up arms; or, because he had a mind to gratify Fla-
minius and the republic, formed the design either
of killing, or delivering up the Carthaginian to him.

Accordingly immediately after the first conference
with the Roman embassador he posted guards on
Hannibal's house. This illustrious Carthaginian, ob-
serving the Romans unabating hatred to him, and
having little dependance on the fidelity of the kings
with whom he took refuge, had laid his account with
ending his days in some such manner. Besides he
had experienced Prusias's levity, and with horror
looked on the arrival of Flaminius, as what would
prove fatal to him. To provide against the dangers
that threatned him on all sides, and to have a means
of escape always ready at hand, he had made seven
different passages from his house, some of them very
secret, to prevent guards being posted on them. But
the orders of kings have so great an authority in
them, that nothing can be long concealed which they
would have discovered. The Carthaginian's house
was beset by guards in such a manner, that none could
escape from it. As soon as he was informed that the
royal guards were in his porch, he attempted to fly
out at the most concealed passage. But finding even
that closely guarded, as well as all the rest, he called
for the poison, which he had long before prepared
against such an occasion. ' Let us, said he, deliver
' the Roman people from the apprehensions they
' have had so long, since they have not patience to
' wait the death of an old man. Flaminius's victory
' over a man disarmed and betray'd will not do him
' much honor. This day's action will be an immor-
' tal proof of the change in the Roman manners.
' Their ancestors warned Philip, while an enemy
and in the heart of their country with an army, to
Vol. VI. P ' beware

beware of being poisoned. But they have sent an ambassador of consular dignity to persuade Prusias to violate the laws of hospitality in the basest manner. After having vented imprecations against Prusias and his kingdom, and invoked the vengeance of the Gods, the protectors of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the fatal draught.

CHAP.

LII.

THUS died the illustrious Hannibal. Polybius and Rutilius both say, that Scipio died this year. But I must differ both from them and Valerius. From them, because I find that during the censorship of Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, the latter was chosen prince of the senate, which honor Africanus had enjoy'd during the two preceding lustra: Now had he been living, none could have been chosen in his room, unless he had been expelled the senate, a disgrace which no historian says he ever met with. What confutes Antias, is the time when M. Nævius, against whom Africanus's speech is still extant, was tribune of the people. From all the marbles it appears he exercised this office during the consulate of P. Claudius and L. Porcius, but entered upon it on the tenth of December, when Ap. Claudius and M. Sempronius were consuls. Now three months intervene betwixt that and the fifteenth of March, when P. Claudius and L. Porcius entered on their office. Thus it appears that he was alive during the tribunate of Nævius, who, it is possible, might have prosecuted him, but was dead before the censorship of Cato and Valerius. Hence also it appears, that the deaths of the three most illustrious generals of their own nation are not so much to be compared with regard to the time, as the manner, for the end of none of them was suitable to the splendor of their lives. In particular they agreed in this circumstance, that none of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were both taken off by poison. The former when an exile was betray'd by the prince who entertained him, and the latter being taken prisoner died in chains and in a jail.

jail. Scipio indeed was neither banished nor condemn'd; but being cited as a criminal to defend himself on a day fixed for his trial, he did not appear, and not only retired into a voluntary banishment during his life, but ordered his body to be buried in a foreign soil.

DURING the transactions in Peloponnesus, CHAP. from which I made a short digression, the return of Demetrius and the embassadors into Macedonia affected the people there very differently, according to their different dispositions. The generality of the Macedonians, who were terrify'd at the thoughts of a rupture with Rome, looked with a favorable eye on Demetrius, in hopes he would prove the author of a peace. They likewise considered him as the prince, who was to ascend the throne after the death of his father. For though he was younger than Perfes, yet he was born in lawful wedlock, whereas the other was the son of a concubine. As the latter was born of a common prostitute, he bore the likeness of no certain father; but Demetrius favored his father Philip exceedingly. Farther they imagined, that the Romans, with whom Perfes had no credit, would place the crown on the head of their favorite prince. These things were the subject of public conversation. Accordingly Perfes was very uneasy, when he reflected, that his seniority would prove but a weak title, since his brother was his superior in every other respect. Philip, likewise, from a firm persuasion that it would not be in his power to dispose of the succession as he pleased, looked with a very jealous eye upon his younger son. He was highly offended to see the great numbers of Macedonians that flocked to him, and was enraged to see another court formed even in his life time. The young prince himself had brought an air of haughtiness from Rome, piquing himself upon the favorable judgment the senate had formed of him, and their granting him many things which they had refused to his father. Every thing he said with regard to the Romans in-
P 2 deed

CHAP. LIII. deed gained him favor and honor with the rest of the Macedonians, but proportionably increased the hatred, not only of his brother, but even of his father, against him; and more particularly after the arrival of the new ambassadors from Rome. They obliged Philip to evacuate and abandon Thrace, and perform every article in the decree of the former commissioners, or the new one of the senate. He comply'd, but with extreme reluctance and discontent, and the rather, as he saw his son pay more court to the deputies than to himself. However he obey'd every thing the Romans insisted on, that he might give them no reason to make war upon him immediately. In order therefore to avert all suspicion of his real designs, he carried his arms into the heart of Thrace against the Odrysæ^a, Dantheletæ^b, and Bessi^c. He took Philippopolis, which the inhabitants had abandoned, having fled to the neighboring mountains with their families. Then he ravaged the lands of the barbarians who lived in the plains, and forced them to submit to him. After this, leaving a garison in Philippopolis, which the Odrysæ soon after expel'd, he resolved to build a city in Deuriopus. This is a region of Pæonia near the river Erigonus, which, rising in Illyricum and holding it's course through Pæonia, falls into the Axius.

CHAP. LIV. THIS new city stood near the old one of Stobi, and he ordered it to be called Perseïdas, in honor of his eldest son. While these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls had set out for their provinces. Marcellus sent a messenger before him with orders to the prætor to approach the new city the Gauls were building with the army. On the arrival of the consul, the Gauls, to the number of 12000 arm'd men, surrendered. Most of them had taken their arms by force out of the country: These, with all the booty they had got by pillaging, and whatever

^a In the neighborhood of the river *Hebrus* and mount *Rhodope*.

^b At the springs of the *Hebrus*.

^c Near mount *Hæmus*. Their chief town is now called *Adrianople*.

they had brought with them, he took from them. CHAP.
This so exasperated them, that they sent deputies to LIV.
Rome to complain of him. Being introduced into the

senate by C. Valerius the prætor they declared, ' that
' they were grown so numerous in their own coun-
' try, that for want of room and corn they had been
' obliged to pass the Alps in quest of a settlement.
' Where they saw a desert and uncultivated country,
' there they had settled without offering violence to
' any person. There they had begun to build, which
' was an evident proof, that they had not come with
' a view to seize either city or land by forcible means.
' Lately M. Marcellus had sent to tell them, that he
' would make war upon them if they did not sur-
' render. Accordingly, preferring a sure, though less
' honorable, peace to the hazards of war, they had
' put themselves under the protection of the Romans,
' but not subjected themselves to them. A few days
' after being ordered to quit that country and city,
' they had resolved to go to any other they could
' find : but their arms, and every thing else they had,
' had been taken from them. So they conjured the
' senate and Roman people not to treat them, who
' were innocent and had surrendered voluntarily, with
' greater severity than they did enemies.' The se-
nate ordered the following answer to be given them :
' You did wrong in coming into Italy, and at-
' tempting to build a city on ground belonging to
' others, without permission from the Roman ma-
' gistrate, who had the government of that pro-
' vince. However we abhor your being spoil'd after
you had surrendered. Therefore we will send em-
bassadors with you to the consul, to order him to
restore all that belonged to you, provided you re-
turn to the country from whence you came. They
shall pass the Alps, and tell the Gauls to keep their
multitudes at home. The Alps are a barrier be-
tween us and them which ought not to be passed.
If they do they shall meet no better fate than those
who passed them first.' L. Furius Purpureo, Q.

Minucius and P. M. Acidinus went with them. The Gauls had their effects restored without the least loss, and then quitted Italy.

CHAP.

LV.

THE Transalpine nations received the Romans civilly. Their old men even reproached them for their lenity and indulgence. ‘ You have dismissed
‘ with impunity, said they, men, who without au-
‘ thority from their state, went to seize the land of
‘ your republic, and attempted to build a city on a
‘ foreign soil. They ought to have been made pay
‘ dear for their temerity. By restoring them their
‘ effects, we are afraid others may be excited in
‘ hopes of like indulgence to make the same attempt.’ They not only entertained their embassadors civilly, but made them handsom presents. The consul Marcellus, having driven the Gauls out of his province, began to form the plan of a war against the Istrians, and wrote to the senate for an order to march against them. The senate accordingly sent it him. They were then deliberating about sending a colony to Aquileia, but they were not determined, whether it should be Latins or Romans. At last they resolved on sending the former. The commissioners chosen to settle it were, P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius and L. Manlius Acidinus. This year they also sent Roman colonies to Modena and Parma. For that purpose 2000 men were taken out of the country lately possessed by the Boii and formerly by the Hetrurians. Those of Parma had eight acres of land apiece, and those of Modena five. The commissioners who led them thither were M. Æmilius Lepidus, T. Æbutius Carus, and L. Quinctius Crispinus. They likewise sent a colony of Roman citizens to Saturnia in the territory of Caletra, under the direction of Q. Fabius Labeo, C. Africanus Stellio and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. Each planter had ten acres of land.

CHAP.

LVI.

THE same year the pro-prætor A. Terentius, defeated the Celtiberians several times in the territories of the Ausetani, near the Ebro, and took several
fortify’d

fortify'd towns which they had there. Farther Spain remained quiet. The pro-prætor of it P. Sempronius had fallen sick of a lingering illness, and the Lusitanians, having none to excite them to rebel, very seasonably abstained from all hostilities. The consul Fabius performed nothing memorable in Liguria. M. Marcellus was recalled out of Istria, and after disbanding his army, returned to Rome to preside at the elections. The fasces were transfer'd to Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus and L. Æmilius Paulus. The latter had been curule ædile with M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was consul five years before, after he had met with two repulses in suing for that office. Then Q. Fulvius Flaccus, M. Valerius Lævinus, P. Manlius a second time, M. Ogulnius Gallus, L. Cæcilius Denter and C. Terentius Istra were chosen prætors. In the end of the year, a supplication was made on account of prodigies. It was sufficiently certain, that it had rained blood in the area of the temple of Concord. It was reported, that a new island had rose out of the sea, near Sicily, where there had been none before. Valerius Antias says, that Hannibal died this year, to compass whose death L. Scipio Asiaticus and P. Scipio Nasica had been sent to Prusias, besides Flamininus, whose name is most famous in that affair.

B O O K XL.

When Philip orders search to be made after the children of those persons of distinction he had in prison, in order to put them to death, Theoxena, fearing the king would abuse her own and her sister's young children, brings out to them a dagger and poison, and persuades them to avoid the dishonor that threatened them by death: after she gains this point, she and her husband precipitate themselves into the sea. This book contains an account of the quarrel between Perseus and Demetrius, Philip's sons. How Demetrius is poisoned by the fraud of his brother, who falsely accuses him of a design to kill his father, of aspiring to the crown, and last of all

of being a friend to the Romans. By this means Perses succeeds to the throne at his father's death. Also a relation of the success of several generals in Liguria and in Spain against the Celtiberians. The books of Numa Pompilius in Greek and Latin found by some laborers in the field of L. Pætilius under mount Janiculum, inclosed in a stone chest. The prætor of the city, to whom they were brought, after perusing them and finding in them many things tending to the subversion of religion, swears before the senate, that it is not for the interest of the state, that they should be read or preserved. In consequence the senate orders them to be burnt in the comitium. A colony settled at Aquileia. Philip stung with remorse for having taken off by poison his son Demetrius upon the false accusations of his brother, forms a design of punishing Perses, and leaving his crown to his friend Antiochus, rather than to him. But before he can execute this design he is surprized by death, and Perses ascends the throne.

CHAP. I. **I**N the beginning of the ensuing year, the consuls and prætors drew lots for their provinces. The consuls had no other province but Liguria. The jurisdiction of the citizens fell to Gallus; that of foreigners to M. Valerius; Hither Spain to Flaccus; the Farther to Manlius; Sicily to Denter; and Sardinia to Istra. The consuls were ordered to make new levies. Q. Fabius sent advice from Liguria, that the Apuani were on the point of rebelling, and that it was to be feared, they would make an incursion upon the territories of Pisa. They knew already that the Celtiberians in Hither Spain were up in arms, and that the long sickness of the prætor of the Farther had occasioned a relaxation of military discipline, and the troops indulged themselves in luxury and ease. For this reason new levies were made. Four legions, each containing 5200 foot and 300 horse, with 15000 Latin infantry and 800 cavalry, were appointed for Liguria. These were to compose the two consular armies. Besides 7000 Latin foot and 600 horse were ordered to be sent into Gaul to M. Marcellus, who was continued in his command another year. Orders were also given to raise 4000 Roman foot with 200 horse, 7000 Latin infantry, and 300 cavalry, to be sent to the two Spains. Q. Fabius Labeo was also continued another year at the head of his army in Liguria.

THIS

Cn. Bæb.
Tamphilus
and L. Æ-
milius Paul-
lus, consuls.
Y. of R. 571.
B. J. C. 181.

THIS proved a very boisterous spring. About noon of the day before the festival of Pales^a there arose so violent a storm of wind and rain, that it threw down many edifices, both sacred and prophane, the brazen statues in the capitol, and carried the wicket of the temple of Luna as far as the back of the temple of Ceres. It also overturned other statues in the great circus, with the pedestals on which they stood. It likewise uncover'd several temples to the very beams, and scattered the materials of their roofs far and wide. This storm was turned into a prodigy, and the haruspices ordered expiations to be made for it. It was also reported, that a mule had been foaled at Reate with three feet, and advice arrived from Formiæ, that the temple of Apollo at Cajeta had been struck with lightening. To expiate these prodigies, twenty of the larger sacrifices were offered, and a supplication appointed for one day. About the same time letters arrived from the proprætor A. Terentius with the accounts of the death of P. Sempronius, who died in the Farther province after he had been sick above a year. For this reason the prætors were ordered to hasten their departure for Spain. Then the foreign ambassadors had audience of the senate. The first introduced were those of Eumenes, Pharnaces and the Rhodians, who complained of the destruction of the Sinopenfes. About the same time also arrived the ambassadors of Philip, the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. They had their answer immediately after Marcius, who had been sent to examine into the state of Greece and Macedonia, had given an account of his commission. The senate told the kings of Asia and the Rhodians, that they would send commissioners to enquire into the causes of their complaints.

MARCIUS increased the fathers apprehensions about Philip. He own'd indeed, that he had comply'd with what the senate had decreed, but in such a manner as made it evident, he would do so no

CHAP.
III.

^a The 20th of April.

CHAP.

III.

longer than necessity obliged him. He likewise affirmed, that it was manifest he would renew the war; for every thing he said and did pointed that way. First of all he drew all the natural inhabitants with their families out of the maritime cities into Emathia, formerly called Pæonia, and supply'd their place with Thracians and other barbarians, who he thought would adhere more faithfully to him in a war with the Romans. This occasioned great murmurs throughout his whole dominions. Few of those people, who with their wives and children were leaving their native soil, could contain their inward grief and anguish; but hatred getting the better of their fears, as they went along in troops, they uttered the most terrible curses against the king. This increased the fury of his temper so much, that he became jealous of every man, every place and time. At last he declared openly, that he could confide in nobody, unless he secured in prison the children of those he had murdered, designing likewise to put them to death one after another.

CHAP.

IV.

THIS detestable cruelty was rendered much more so by the effect it had on one particular house. He had many years before put to death Herodicus, the chief man among the Theſſalians, and afterwards did the same by his sons-in-law. His daughters were by this means left widows, with each of them several small children. Their names were Theoxena and Archo. Theoxena despised the addresses of many suitors. Archo marry'd Poris, by far the most illustrious lord of the Æniates, by whom she had several children, and dying left them all very young. Then Theoxena marry'd Poris, that she might have the bringing up of her sister's children, of whom she took the same care as if they had been her own. But afterwards hearing of the king's edict for seizing the children of those he had put to death, she formed a most atrocious design, for fear that they should not only be prostituted by the king, but to the keepers of the prison. She even ventured to declare, that she would

would kill them with her own hands, rather than suffer them to fall into Philip's. Poris, abhorring the very mention of so shocking an action, answered, she might carry them to some faithful friends of his at Athens, and he would accompany them in their flight. Accordingly they set out from Thessalonica to a festival celebrated annually by the Æneans with great pomp in honor of Æneas their founder. After they had spent the day at the festival, they embarked at the third watch, when all were asleep, on board a vessel which Poris had provided for the purpose. Their design was to go to Eubœa. But as the wind was contrary, daylight surprized them before they got far from shore, notwithstanding their utmost efforts. Upon this the king's guards, who had the care of the port, sent out an armed sloop, with strict orders not to return without the vessel at their peril. When they approached them, Poris was solely employ'd in exhorting the rowers and sailors, and sometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, implored the help of the Gods. But his undaunted lady, revolving in her mind the daring purpose she had long before formed, mixed a poisonous draught, and brought out a dagger. Setting the cup in view, and drawing the dagger, she said, 'Death is our only refuge. Here are the means of it. Let each chuse the way they like best, in order to avoid the king's tyranny. Come, my boys, who are the oldest, take you first the dagger, or the poison, if you chuse a more lingering death.' What could they do? the enemy was at hand, and the mother conjuring them to die: some dying by the sword, and others by the poison, were thrown half dead over board. Then the lady, locked in the arms of her husband, leaped into the sea, and they died together. Thus the king's guards got the vessel without their prize.

THIS horrible action raised a new storm of envy against Philip, so that all men vented curses and imprecations upon him and his children. All the Gods heard them, and soon inspired him with a thirst for the

CHAP. V. the blood of his own family. For Perſes, ſeeing his brother Demetrius riſe daily in favor and eſteem with the Macedonians, and credit with the Romans, and that all his hopes of ſucceeding to the crown centred in wicked calumnies, bent his thoughts entirely that way. But believing himſelf alone not ſufficiently capable of executing his effeminate purpoſe, he reſolved by dark and diſtant hints to ſound the inclinations of each of his father's courtiers. At firſt none of them hearkened to him, abhorring the mention of ſuch a crime, and becauſe they had better hopes of his brother than of him. But as Philip's hatred to the Romans, which Perſes cheriſhed, and Demetrius uſed his utmoſt efforts to remove, daily increaſed, ſome of them, foreſeeing the fate of the latter, who was not ſufficiently on his guard againſt the fraudulent intrigues of his brother, ſided with Perſes, thinking it the beſt policy to promote what otherwiſe they ſaw would ſucceſs, and to flatter the hopes of the ſtronger party. Every thing elſe they left to time to determine. For the preſent they contented themſelves with exaſperating the king againſt the Romans, and urging him by their advice to enter into a war, to which his mind, of itſelf, was much inclined. At the ſame time, to render Demetrius daily more ſuſpected by his father, they agreed to introduce converſations tending to depreciate the Romans. Some ridiculed their manners and inſtitutions, and others the meannefs of their city, as void of all decorations either in it's private or public buildings; nay, ſome derided all it's great men. The unguarded young prince, tranſported by his love of the Romans, and the pleaſure of croſſing his brother, by defending every thing they ridiculed, rendered himſelf ſuſpected by his father, and furniſhed his adverſaries with ſpecious grounds of accuſation againſt him. Accordingly Philip excluded him from all councils on the Roman affairs. He became entirely devoted to Perſes, and night and day communicated all his thoughts to him relating to the Romans. About that time re-
turned

turned the embassadors whom the king had sent to the Bastarnæ^a. They had brought many of the young nobility of that country, and even some of the blood royal, one of whom promised Perfes his sister in marriage. The alliance of this nation elevated the king. Then Perfes represented to him, 'What advantage will this derive to you? Foreign aids will be but small protection against the dangers that threaten you from a domestic traitor. I will not say you entertain a traitor, but at least you do a spy, in your bosom. The Romans have sent back the body of your hostage, but still keep his heart. All your subjects adore him, and they expect to have no other king, but him whom the Romans shall give them.' These words revived the jealousy of the old king, and though he did not seem to be moved with them, they deeply wounded his heart.

CHAP.

v.

THE time for reviewing the army was come. The ceremony observed in it was as follows. A dog is sacrificed and cut in two: one part with the entrails is placed on the right side of the road, and the other on the left. Between those parts of the victim, the soldiers march under arms. First of all came the suits of arms worn by their kings from the origin of their race, followed by the king and his children. Than came the king's body guards with the rest of the troops; and last of all the people. The king was supported by his two sons, the eldest thirty, and the youngest twenty-five years of age. Perfes was arrived at his full vigor, and Demetrius was in the bloom of youth. Happy the father to have two sons of mature age, had he been sensible of the blessing. It was customary when the solemn procession of the review was over, for the army to file off in two divisions, and engage in a kind of battle, under the command of the two young princes. It was not a mere representation, for they fought as keenly as if it had been for the crown. Many wounds were given and taken

CHAP.

vi.

^a Inhabiting *Podolia* and *Volbinia*.

with headless pikes, and all they wanted of a real action was swords and heads to their pikes. But the division commanded by Demetrius had the advantage. This gave Perfes great pain, while the wisest of his friends said, it would furnish him with matter of accusation against him.

CHAP. VII. **THAT** day each of the princes provided an entertainment for those who had fought on their side. Demetrius invited Perfes, but he refused. However their good fellowship and mirth was very great, and they plied the wine very hard. They talked of the mock fight, and jested upon their adversaries without even sparing the generals. Perfes sent a spy to join their company, and he heard all. But behaving himself indiscreetly, was turned out of the room by four young gentlemen, who handled him very roughly. Demetrius, who was ignorant of this, said, ‘Come, let us go partake with my brother, and by our sincere and simple mirth, dispel the anger he may retain for his defeat in the combat.’ All the guests expressed their consent by a shout, except those who dreaded present revenge for beating the spy. But Demetrius would drag them with him, and they hid swords under their garments, in order to defend themselves, in case any violence should be offered them. Where there is domestic variance, nothing can be concealed. A busy person ran before, and informed Perfes, that Demetrius was coming with four armed men. Though he knew the cause of it, (for he had been told his spy had been beaten) yet to aggravate the matter, he ordered the doors to be locked, and from a high story, where the windows faced the street, he desired those who came to be merry with him to be gone, as if they had come to murder him. Demetrius, exhilarated with wine, exclaimed against the shutting him out, and returned to his own feast entirely ignorant of the real cause.

CHAP. VIII. **NEXT** day, as soon as Perfes could get access to his father, he went to court with great uneasiness in his looks, and stood long before the king without speaking.

speaking. Philip asked him whether he was well, and what was the cause of his melancholy? Perſes answered, ‘ You ſee, my lord, I am alive ; but thanks to good fortune. My brother is now open in his attempts againſt my life. Laſt night he came with armed men to my houſe to aſſaſſinate me. I owe my preſervation to having ſhut my doors, and being within ſtrong walls.’ This filled the king with aſtoniſhment and fear, which Perſes obſerving, ſaid, ‘ If your majeſty will give me a hearing, I will convince you of the truth of my accuſation.’ Philip answered, he would, and immediately ſent for Demetrius. He took for aſſeſſors in this cauſe two courtiers, Lyſimachus and Onomaſtus, both old men, who knew nothing of the quarrel between the princes, and ſeldom appeared at court. Whiſt they were ſent for, he walked in great perplexity to and fro alone (for Perſes ſtood at a diſtance) making many ſerious reflections. Being informed they were come, he carried them and two of his body guards into an inner apartment. He allowed his ſons to bring each of them three unarmed attendants. Then ſitting down, he ſpoke thus. ‘ Wretched father that I am ! I am to find one of my ſons a calumniator, or the other guilty of parricide ; one of you muſt be ſtained with forgery, or the other with a moſt unnatural crime. I have long been afraid this impending ſtorm would burſt, when I beheld your mutual coldneſs and converſations unbecoming brothers. But ſtill I flattered myſelf that your animoſities would ſubſide, and your jealousies vaniſh. Even enemies, thought I, have laid down their arms, and entered into a league of amity, and differences between private perſons have had a period : in like manner, will my ſons remember their ties of blood ; how in their infancy they maintained an affectionate commerce ; and will reflect upon my fatherly precepts, which, alas ! I am afraid were inculcated to no purpoſe. How often have I ſet before your eyes horrid examples, and

CHAP.

VIII.

and the fatal consequences, of differences between
 brothers? How they have exterminated their race,
 overwhelmed families, and utterly subverted king-
 doms? I have set before you examples of the con-
 trary, and their salutary effects. The affectionate
 concord between the two Spartan kings, the happy
 fruits of which they and their country reaped for
 many ages. How the ruin of that very state was
 owing to each of their kings ambitiously wresting
 all the authority to himself. How even in our own
 days, by brotherly love and harmony, Eumenes
 and Attalus have, from beginnings so mean that
 they were almost ashamed to take the title of kings,
 equalled themselves to me, Antiochus, and any
 monarch of the present age. Nay, I did not he-
 sitate to propound to you such examples among the
 Romans, as I had either been eye-witness of, or
 heard by report; of the two Quinctii, who prosecu-
 ted the war against me; of the two Scipio's, who
 vanquished Antiochus; of their father and uncle,
 who after having acted in concert during their
 lives, were even united in their deaths. But nei-
 ther the former examples of vice, with their dismal
 and merited end, nor the latter instances of virtue
 and wisdom, crowned with the most salutary conse-
 quences, could induce you to be wise. While I
 breathe and live, both of you from a vain hope
 and criminal ambition affect my throne. You de-
 sire me to live no longer than till one of you dies,
 and then by death to leave the other without a ri-
 val of the crown. Neither of you can endure ei-
 ther a father or brother. You have neither natural
 affection, nor regard for sacred duties. An unfa-
 tiable ambition to mount a single throne, has u-
 surped the place of all virtuous passions in your
 breasts. Come then, wound a father's ear with
 your unnatural disputes. Let your reciprocal ac-
 cusations be the preludes to a bloody war between
 you. Speak openly all that is truth, and whatever
 you can falsely devise. My ears are now open,

but

‘ but from henceforth shall be for ever shut against
 ‘ your secret accusations of each other.’ This he said
 in a violent passion, and it drew tears from all their
 eyes, and their sorrow kept them for some time in a
 profound silence.

THEN Perſes began. ‘ I ought then to have
 ‘ opened my gates at unseasonable hours, and let in
 ‘ armed guests; I ought to have held out my throat to
 ‘ be cut, since I cannot be believed, except the foul
 ‘ deed had been actually committed; and since I,
 ‘ whose life was fought, hear myself inveighed a-
 ‘ gainst as if I was a robber and assassin. It is not
 ‘ then without ground, that people say you have on-
 ‘ ly one son, Demetrius, and that I am a supposititi-
 ‘ ous one, born of a concubine. For if you vouch-
 ‘ safed me either the rank or affection due to a son,
 ‘ you would not inveigh against me, when I com-
 ‘ plain of the snares which I have discovered to have
 ‘ been laid for my life, but against him who laid
 ‘ them; neither would you shew so little concern for
 ‘ my life, as not to be moved by the dangers I have
 ‘ escaped, or those I have still to dread, if they who
 ‘ have plotted against it escape with impunity. If
 ‘ I must then die without uttering my complaints,
 ‘ let me be mute. I shall only pray the Gods, that
 ‘ the wicked purposes which have been first attempt-
 ‘ ed against me may terminate with my life, and
 ‘ that you be not the person to be wounded through
 ‘ my side. But if, as natural instinct prompts even
 ‘ those who are set upon in deserts, to implore the
 ‘ aid of men whom they never saw, it may also be
 ‘ allowed me to call out when a drawn sword is over
 ‘ my head; let me conjure you by the name of fa-
 ‘ ther, (and you have long been sensible which of
 ‘ us have revered that sacred title most) to give such
 ‘ ear to me, as if, awaked by my lamentable cries
 ‘ last night, you had come to my rescue; as if you
 ‘ had caught Demetrius in my court-yard with arm-
 ‘ ed ruffians at unseasonable hours. For the same
 ‘ things I would have exclaimed against during my

CHAP.
IX.

CHAP.

IX.

' fright at that time, I now complain of the day af-
 ' ter. Ah, brother, we have long lived in such a
 ' manner, that it is not very likely we would feast
 ' together. The truth is, you aspire at the crown.
 ' My seniority, the law of nations, the custom of
 ' our country, nay our father's equity, are obstacles
 ' in your way. You cannot mount the throne with-
 ' out shedding my blood. You leave no attempt
 ' untried, you use your utmost efforts to effect my
 ' death. But hitherto either my vigilance, or the
 ' kindness of fortune, hath disappointed your unna-
 ' tural aims. Yesterday you had very near turned
 ' the review, the exercising of the troops, and the
 ' mock fight, into a bloody battle; and nothing sa-
 ' ved my life, but suffering myself and party to be
 ' vanquished. From this hostile action, as if it had
 ' only been for diversion between two brothers, you
 ' would have decoy'd me to an entertainment. Do
 ' you believe, most royal father, that I should have
 ' sup'd with unarmed guests, who came in arms to
 ' make merry with me? or that I had nothing to ap-
 ' prehend in the night from the swords of those, who,
 ' even before your eyes, attempted to kill me with
 ' headless pikes in the day? Why, brother, did
 ' you come at so unseasonable an hour in the night,
 ' why as an enemy, considering I was enraged; why
 ' attended by young men with swords? Since I
 ' durst not trust myself to be your guest, could you
 ' expect I would admit you to be mine, when you
 ' came with an armed train? Most noble king, had
 ' my gates been open, you would now have been
 ' preparing his funeral, whom you hear uttering these
 ' complaints. My accusations are not false, nor am
 ' I at a loss for proofs to confirm them. For why,
 ' doth he deny that he came to my gate with a great
 ' train, or that those he had with him had not
 ' swords? Pray send for the persons I shall name.
 ' Indeed men capable of such audacious attempts
 ' dare do any thing; yet they dare not deny this.
 ' Had I seized them in my court-yard, and brought

them

‘ them directly to you, you would have believed
 ‘ me ; now let their own confession gain equal cre-
 ‘ dit with you, as if they had been apprehended in
 ‘ the action.’

‘ NOW curse the lust of sovereignty, and excite CHAP.
 ‘ the furies of two brothers against each other ; but x.
 ‘ let not your execrations be blind ; make a difference
 ‘ and distinction between him who lays the snares,
 ‘ and him for whom they are laid ; let the former
 ‘ meet the just merit of his villainy, but let the inno-
 ‘ cence of the latter screen him from punishment.
 ‘ Let him who treacherously sought to assassinate his
 ‘ brother, feel the vengeance of his father’s Gods ;
 ‘ but let him, whose life was aimed at, meet security
 ‘ in a father’s compassion and justice. Whither else
 ‘ can I fly for refuge, since I am not safe at solemn
 ‘ sacrifices, at the review of our troops, in my own
 ‘ house, at an entertainment, or in the night, which
 ‘ kind nature has allotted for the secure repose of
 ‘ mortals ? If I accept of my brother’s invitations, I
 ‘ meet certain death ; if I admit him to feast with
 ‘ me, I cannot escape the same fate. I cannot avoid
 ‘ his snares, if I either go or stay. To whom then
 ‘ can I have recourse ? Dear father, I have relied
 ‘ solely on the Gods and you. I cannot fly to the
 ‘ Romans for refuge. They wish my death, because
 ‘ I lament the injuries you have suffered ; because I
 ‘ am enraged to see you stript of so many cities and
 ‘ countries, and lately of the sea-coast of Thrace ;
 ‘ nay, because they have no hopes of getting Mace-
 ‘ donia to themselves, while you and I are alive. If
 ‘ I was once removed by my brother’s treacherous
 ‘ practices, and you by old age, nay is it certain
 ‘ they will wait these periods, they know that Ma-
 ‘ cedonia and it’s king will depend upon their nod.
 ‘ Had the Romans left you any place without Ma-
 ‘ cedonia, I should have expected a safe retreat there.
 ‘ But you’ll say, I am sufficiently safe in Macedonia.
 ‘ How ! you saw the soldiers assault me yesterday.
 ‘ Did they want any thing except swords ? But what
 ‘ they

CHAP.

x.



' they had not in the day, my brother's guests pro-
 ' vided in the night. Need I observe that the great-
 ' est number of the lords of your kingdom have
 ' placed all their hopes of dignities and preferment
 ' on the Romans and on him, to whom they deny
 ' nothing. And, God deliver us! they not only
 ' prefer him, in birth-right, to me, but even to you,
 ' who are his sovereign and father. From a regard,
 ' forsooth, to this son, the senate remitted the penalty
 ' you had incur'd, he at this time protects you from
 ' the Roman arms, and thinks it reasonable that you
 ' in your old age should be solely obliged to and
 ' depend upon him, a youth, for your safety. With
 ' him the Romans, all the cities freed from your sub-
 ' jection, all the Macedonians, who delight in peace
 ' with the Romans, take part. Illustrious father,
 ' I have no hope, no refuge, but in you.

CHAP.

xi.



' WHAT do you think was the design of the
 ' letters lately sent you by Flaminius, wherein he
 ' says you could not have acted a wiser part than in
 ' sending Demetrius to Rome, and begs you would
 ' send him back at the head of a more numerous
 ' deputation, and with the principal lords of Mace-
 ' donia? The truth is, Flaminius is my brother's
 ' counsellor and director in all the steps he takes.
 ' Demetrius has thrown off all duty to you, and
 ' adopted this Roman to be his father. All his
 ' wicked designs were formerly hatched at Rome.
 ' When Flaminius desires you to send with him a
 ' more numerous embassy consisting of your princi-
 ' pal subjects, his sole view is thereby to procure
 ' abettors of his wicked designs. For though they
 ' set out from hence with firm and loyal hearts,
 ' looking on Philip as their lawful sovereign, yet
 ' they will return from Rome tainted with the en-
 ' chantments of that cursed state. Nothing will go
 ' down with them but Demetrius. Though you are
 ' alive they already stile him king. If I shew my
 ' displeasure at these things, my ears must immedi-
 ' ately be dinned with accusations, not only from

' others

others, but even from my father, of my ambitiously
 aiming at your crown. But for my own part, was
 the diadem placed betwixt us, I would not take it.
 For, whom must I supplant, in order to wear it in
 his stead? My father alone stands betwixt me and
 it, and I pray the Gods, he may live long to en-
 joy it. If I survive him (and even that I desire
 not to do, except I deserve that he should wish it)
 and he leaves me heir of his throne, I will accept
 it. My brother indeed aspires to a throne, and
 wickedly too, since he would mount to it contrary
 to the right of seniority, the course of nature,
 customs of Macedonia and law of nations. He
 sees an elder brother, to whom of right and by a
 father's will, the crown will devolve, stand in his
 way. Let us then, says he, get rid of him: I
 shall not be the first, who has got a crown by fra-
 tricide. As for my father, he is old, and when
 destitute and bereaved of his son will be more afraid
 of himself, than to revenge his death. The Ro-
 mans will rejoice at, approve and defend the action.
 These, illustrious sovereign, are uncertain, but not
 vain, hopes. To conclude, you may secure my
 life against all attempts, by punishing those, who
 have armed themselves in order to take it away:
 but if they once succede in their wicked enterprize,
 you will not have it in your power to avenge my
 death.

CHAP.
XI.

WHEN Perfes had done, all the company fix-
 ed their eyes on Demetrius, expecting he would an-
 swer immediately. But there was a profound silence
 for some time. They all plainly saw that his tears
 deprived him of the use of speech. But at length
 being commanded to justify himself, his grief gave
 way to necessity, and he thus began: 'Royal fa-
 ther, my accuser has prevented me in every cir-
 cumstance that uses to aid the cause of a defendant.
 His false tears, feign'd for my destruction, have
 rendered my real one's suspected by you. While
 it is certain, that ever since my return from Rome,

CHAP.
XII.

CHAP.

XII.

he and his accomplices have secretly, both night
 and day, plotted my death; he would not only
 make me appear to be a lyer in wait, but a public
 robber and assassin. He terrifies you with the
 representation of his own danger, in order to
 make you the instrument of hastening the death of
 his innocent brother. To deprive me of all future
 hope in you, he pretends he has no place of refuge
 in the whole universe. Thus circumvented, forlorn
 and destitute, he invidiously calumniates me with
 the favor and protection of foreigners, a circumstance
 that does me more injury than good. How,
 like an artful barrister, does he confound what happened
 during the preceding night, with his wicked
 insinuations against the tenor of the former part of
 my life? His view was to enhance your suspicions
 of that fact, the naked truth whereof you shall
 presently know, by my former miscarriages, and
 confirm his false accusations of my entertaining unnatural
 hopes, and hatching villainous designs, by a forged,
 preconcerted fable of my intending to murder him last
 night. A farther design he had in this was, to make it
 believed that his accusation of me was sudden and
 unpremeditated, and solely owing to the alarming his
 fears yesternight. But, Perſes, if I had been guilty of
 treason against my father and his crown, if I had conspired
 with the Romans, or any other of my father's enemies,
 you ought not to have waited for last night's story,
 but accused me of it before; if that accusation were to
 be separated from the other vain and frivolous one,
 which will rather shew your malice towards me than my
 guilt, it ought either not to have been mentioned to day,
 or defer'd to a more proper opportunity, that it might
 have been evident, whether, by a new and singular kind of
 hatred, I have laid snares for you, or you for me. However,
 I shall, as well as I can in the confusion occasioned
 by your unexpected accusation, separate what you have
 blended together, and shew whether the snares

were

' were laid last night by you or me. Perſes would
 ' have it thought, that I had formed a deſign againſt
 ' his life, in order, that, by ridding myſelf of my
 ' elder brother, who by the law of nations, cuſtom
 ' of the Macedonians, and even, royal father, by
 ' your deſtination, is to enjoy your crown after you,
 ' I, his junior, might ſucceſs to him when I ſhould
 ' have murdered him. But how ! what then can be
 ' the drift of the other part of his ſpeech, where he
 ' ſays, I have ſo great a regard for the Romans, and
 ' have ſuch a dependance on them, that I hoped by
 ' their means to mount the throne ? For if I had ſo
 ' great an idea of the Roman power, as to imagine
 ' they could give Macedonia what king they pleaſed,
 ' and if I rely'd ſo much on their favor, what need
 ' I be guilty of fratricide ? Be cauſe I wanted the plea-
 ' ſure, perhaps, of wearing a crown ſtain'd with a
 ' brother's blood ? Or, is it, that I might render
 ' myſelf execrable and odious to thoſe very people,
 ' with whom, by either a real or at leaſt pretended
 ' probity, I have acquired favor, if indeed I have
 ' gained any ? No ; unleſs you believe that Flami-
 ' ninus, by whoſe virtuous advices you juſt now ac-
 ' cuſed me of being governed, and who ſhews ſo
 ' tender an affection for his own brother, would ad-
 ' viſe and perſuade me to murder mine. My ac-
 ' cuſer accumulates againſt me, not only the credit
 ' I have with the Romans, but the favorable opinion
 ' the Macedonians have of me, nay the approbation
 ' of both Gods and men, in all which he believes I
 ' would have the advantage of him in a future con-
 ' teſt for the crown ; and yet, as if I was inferior
 ' to him in all other reſpects, he pretends I had re-
 ' courſe to villainy, as my laſt reſource. Will you
 ' join iſſue with me in this point, that he, who was
 ' afraid the other would be reckoned more deſerving
 ' of the crown, ſhall be deemed the one who plotted
 ' the other's death ?

' BUT ſuffer me, ſome how or other to give you CHAP.
 ' a regular detail of this forged accuſation. He XIII.

CHAP.

XIII.

accuses me of various practices to take away his life, and yet he hath confined them all within the space of one day. He says, I intended to have killed him in day light at the mock fight, after the review, nay, God deliver me! on the very day of a solemn expiation; to have poisoned him at the supper to which I invited him, and lastly, that under pretext of a party of pleasure, I carry'd armed men to murder him at his own house. You must all be sensible, whether a diversion, entertainment and party of pleasure, could be chosen as seasonable opportunities for murdering a brother. What kind of a day was it? Truly, the day on which the army was review'd, when you supported only by us two, with all the armor of our kings from their first original carried before you, and followed by all your subjects, passed between the two halves of a victim. Being purify'd and expiated by this sacrifice (if indeed any of my former actions deserved expiation) nay at the very time that I beheld the parts of the victim on each hand of me as I marched, I was revolving in my mind fratricides, poisonings and swords, prepared against my going to feast with my brother. And with what other sacrifices could I have afterwards expiated this heinous guilt of my mind? But a mind blinded with the passion of calumniating, confounds one thing with another, while it endeavors to render every thing suspicious. For if I had thoughts of poisoning you at supper, what could be more foolish than to exasperate you, by an obstinate resistance in the rencounter, to such a degree, as give you just ground to refuse my invitation, as you did? After you had in your rage deny'd to sup with me, was it not more probable that I should have used my endeavors to have pacify'd you, and thereby find another opportunity, since I had once prepared the poison, than that I should have leaped from one project to another, and under pretext of making merry together, assassinated you on the very

same

‘ same day? Besides, if I was convinced that you
‘ refused my invitation to supper for fear of your
‘ life, how could I expect, that the same apprehen-
‘ sions would not make you avoid me when I came
‘ to revel with you?

‘ Need I be ashamed, royal father, of having CHAP.
‘ indulged too liberally in wine with my companions XIV.
‘ on so great a festival? Nay, I wish you would
‘ enquire with what jovial diversion I celebrated
‘ yesterday’s entertainment, though it may be we
‘ carry’d our mirth somewhat too far for the slight
‘ victory our side gained in the rencounter of the
‘ youth. But this calamitous alarm has dispel’d the
‘ fumes of our debauch, which, if it had not hap-
‘ pen’d, we, for as great lyers in wait as we are, would
‘ have still been fast asleep in our beds. Consider,
‘ brother, if I had had a design to storm your house,
‘ and after succeeding in that, to have murdered you,
‘ do you think I would not have kept sober for one
‘ day? Or at least would I have suffered the instru-
‘ ments who were to execute my schemes, to have
‘ got drunk? But that I might not alone defend
‘ myself by circumstances, carrying a strong ap-
‘ pearance of honest intentions, this malicious and
‘ jealous brother says he knows no more, except that
‘ those who came to make merry with him had arms.
‘ But, Perseus, should I ask you, by what means you
‘ came to know this, you must necessarily own,
‘ either that my house was full of your spies, or that
‘ my accomplices took arms in such an open man-
‘ ner that all the world saw them. And, O judges,
‘ in order to have it believed, that he had not before
‘ enquired into it, or even now would accuse me
‘ without foundation, he desires you would ask those
‘ whom he has named, whether they had swords;
‘ in order that, after you have enquired into this as
‘ a doubtful matter, and found they owned it, you
‘ should look on them as sufficiently convicted. But,
‘ brother, did you desire, that they should be asked,
‘ whether they brought these arms with a design to
‘ murder

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murder you? whether they did so with my privy
 and by my direction? This is what you would have
 believed, not what they confess, and it is known to
 all, that they took arms in order to defend them-
 selves. After all, whether they have done well or
 ill, they alone are responsible for their own actions.
 Mine, which have no relation to them, ought not
 to be blended with them. Therefore shew distinctly
 whether we attacked you openly or secretly. If
 we did it openly, why had we not all swords?
 Why were none of us armed, except those who
 drub'd your spy? If our design was to murder you
 treacherously, sure it was very ill concerted. After
 the company was dismissed, after I who was your
 guest was retired, were these four to stay behind,
 to assassinate you when asleep? But how could they
 have concealed themselves, as they were strangers,
 my attendants, and above all suspected on account
 of the late quarrel betwixt them and your spy? Or
 how could they have escaped after they had mur-
 dered you? Is it possible to take and keep your
 palace with four men armed only with swords?

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FOR shame, brother, talk no more of this
 forged nocturnal plot, but return to the real cause
 of your grief, and of that malice which burns in
 your breast. How comes it to pass, Demetrius,
 you would say, that people dare name you for the
 throne? Why do some think you more worthy
 than me to succede your father? Why do you disturb
 and render doubtful those my hopes, which, but
 for you, would be certain? These, Perfes, are
 your secret sentiments, though you do not say so.
 These make you my enemy, these induced you to
 accuse me. These fill the court and kingdom with
 calumnies and jealousies. But, royal father, where-
 as I neither hope for the crown now, nor ever
 ought to attempt it at any time afterwards, since I
 am the youngest and it is your pleasure I should
 yield to my senior, so neither did it become me
 heretofore, nor does it now become me, to do
 a thing,

nothing, which would render me odious to you and
 all men. By treacherously refusing to yield to him,
 who has right and justice on his side, I can only
 render myself unworthy of all favor; but the con-
 trary by a modest behavior. You reproach me
 with my credit with the Romans, and make a
 crime of what ought to be my greatest glory. I
 neither asked to be delivered up as an hostage, or
 to be sent ambassador to Rome. But when you
 sent me I did not refuse. At both times I behaved
 in such a manner as not to be a disgrace to you,
 your kingdom, or the nation of Macedonia. Thus,
 illustrious kings, it is to you I am indebted for the
 good-will of the Romans, and I shall ever regard
 them as long as they maintain peace with you.
 But as soon as hostilities shall commence, I who
 was not an useless hostage and ambassador for my
 father shall be a bitter and declared enemy to them.
 I do not now plead the favor of the Romans as a
 merit; all I ask is, that it may not prejudice my
 cause. My credit with them did not commence
 in time of war, neither will continue, if the war is
 renewed. I was sent as a sure pledge of peace, and
 as ambassador to maintain it. Let neither then
 diminish my glory or afford matter of calumny
 against me. If I have been guilty of any crime,
 either against my father or brother, I ask no favor.
 But if I am innocent, let me not suffer by odious
 suspicions, since no just crime can be objected to
 me. This is not the first time my brother has ac-
 cused me, though it is the first day on which he
 has ever done it avowedly; and in truth I ill de-
 serve it at his hands. If my father had been an-
 gry with me, you as an elder brother ought to
 have been an advocate for your younger, and ob-
 tained pardon for the errors of my youth. What,
 have I met destruction where I expected certain
 refuge! I am drag'd half asleep from an entertain-
 ment, from a merry-making, to justify myself
 from fratricide, I am forced in person to plead
 my

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my cause without advocates or patrons. If I had been
 to plead for another person, I should have taken
 time to prepare my speech, though then I should
 have run no hazard but that of being thought a
 bad orator. But now I was sent for without the
 least knowledge of the business, and first heard my
 father in a passion order us to plead our cause, and
 then my brother accuse me. The last has uttered
 a studied declamation against me, while I had no
 more time allowed me to prepare my defence,
 than when I was hearing my accusation. Being
 thus surprized in an instant, was it possible I could
 hear my accuser attentively, or prepare a defense?
 Confounded with this sudden and unexpected stroke,
 I could scarce understand what was objected to me,
 much less think of what to say in my own justi-
 fication. What had I to rely on but having my
 father for a judge, from whom, though he has a
 greater affection for my elder brother, I ought at
 least to meet with more pity, as I am innocently
 accused. I conjure you, father, to save me both for
 your own and my sake, while he insists, that you
 should put me to death, solely for his security.
 What do you think he will do when you have
 yielded the scepter to him, when he now thinks
 that my life depends on his pleasure?

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AT these last words such a flood of tears burst
 from him, that they stopt both his speech and breath.
 Philip made his sons withdraw, and after conferring
 with the two lords his assessors, declared: 'that he
 would not determine upon the evidence they had
 given, or upon one hour's debate; but by enquiring
 into the tenor of both their lives, and by observing
 their manners, speeches and actions, in trivial mat-
 ters, as well as those of great importance.' By
 this it was manifest the king was satisfy'd of De-
 metrius's innocence as to the plot of the preceding
 night, and the only thing he was suspected in was
 his attachment to the Romans. These were the seeds
 of the Macedonian war, which were sown in Philip's

life

life time; but produced no fruit till the reign of Perſes. CHAP.
Both the conſuls ſet out for Liguria, the province
allotted to them. Here they met with ſuch ſucceſs, xvi.

that a ſupplication was decreed for one day. About 2000 Ligurians came into the confines of Gaul^a, to Marcellus's camp, conjuring him to accept of their ſubmiſſion. He wrote to the ſenate for their advice, ordering the Ligurians to wait the return of his courier. The fathers ordered the prætor Ogulnius to write back to him, ' that it more properly belonged to the ' conſuls of that province, than to them to determine ' what was for the intereſt of the commonwealth in ' that affair. For their own parts, they did not think ' fit to accept of the ſubmiſſion of the Ligurians at ' that time, and that whenever they ſhould they ſhould ' be diſarmed. Beſides it was their pleaſure, they ' ſhould be ſent to the conſuls.' About the ſame time the prætors arrived in their provinces: P. Manlius in Further Spain, of which he had been governor during his former prætorſhip, and Q. Flaccus in the Hither province, where he received the army from Terentius.⁴ As P. Sempronius, proprætor of the Further, had died, the new prætor found it without a governor. As Flaccus was beſieging Urbicum^b, he was attacked by the Celtiberians. They fought many obſtinate battles, in which the Romans had many killed and wounded. However the prætor proſecuted his enterprize with ſo great ſteadineſs, that it was not poſſible by force to make him raiſe the ſiege. The Celtiberians, fatigued with ſo many battles, retired. Within a few days after their departure, the city was taken and rifled: the plunder was abandoned to the troops. When this city was taken, he retired into his winter quarters, as did Manlius, without having done any thing, except drawing together his troops, which had been before diſperſed. Neither of them performed any thing elſe that was memorable. Theſe were the tranſactions in Spain during this campaign. Terentius, who had quitted

^a On this ſide the Po.

^b Now *Arbica* in *Arragon*.

that province, had the honor of an ovation. In the procession was carried before him 9320 pound weight of silver, 80 of gold, and 2 gold crowns, weighing 67 pound.

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DURING this year the Romans were arbiters between Masinissa and the Carthaginians about a certain district. Gala, Masinissa's father, had taken it from the Carthaginians, and Syphax had driven out Gala, and afterwards restored it to the Carthaginians, in regard to his father-in-law Asdrubal. The debate about it before the Romans was managed with as much heat, as when they formerly disputed for it sword in hand. The Carthaginians reclaimed it, as having originally belonged to their ancestors, and afterwards restored to them by Syphax. Masinissa insisted, that he had only retaken a district which had been part of his father's kingdom, and which belonged to him by right of conquest: that, besides the goodness of his cause, he had a stronger title, possession. He feared nothing could injure him in the controversy but the modesty of the Romans, who might scruple to give an award in his favor, who was their friend and ally, against the common enemy of them both, lest they should be accused of partiality. The deputies, without proceeding to a sentence, refer'd the matter entire to the senate. The Ligurians performed nothing memorable after this. They first retired into unfrequented forests, and then disbanding slipt away each to their own villages and forts. The consuls also had an inclination to disband their troops, and wrote for the senate's advice upon it. The fathers ordered one of them to dismiss his army, and repair to Rome to preside at the elections, and the other to winter at Pisa with his troops. It had been reported that the Transalpine Gauls were arming their youth, but it was not known on what part of Italy this torrent would burst. In consequence the consuls agreed between themselves, that Bæbius should go to preside at the elections because his brother Marcus was a candidate.

THE fasces were transfer'd to P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus. Then the two Fabii, Maximus and Buteo, C. Claudius Nero, Q. Petillius Spurius, M. Pinarius Posca and L. Duronius, were chosen prætors. The provinces were determined by lot in the following manner. The two consuls had Liguria; Spurius, the jurisdiction of citizens; Maximus, that of foreigners; Buteo, Gaul; Nero, Sicily; Posca, Sardinia; and Duronius Apulia, to which was added Istria, because the Tarentines and Brundisians sent intelligence, that their coasts were infested by foreign pirates. The people of Marseilles made the same complaints of the Ligurian ships. Then the armies were allotted. The consuls had four legions, each consisting of 5000 Roman foot and 300 horse, with 15000 foot and 800 cavalry belonging to the Latins and allies. The preceding prætors were continued in the command of Spain, with the armies they had, only to recruit them they were ordered 3000 Roman foot and 200 horse, with 6000 infantry and 300 cavalry of the allies. Nor were marine affairs neglected. The consuls were ordered to appoint duumvirs, who were to equip twenty ships, and man them with enfranchised Roman citizens, only their officers were to be free-born persons. The two admirals had ten ships apiece, and agreed that the cape of Minerva^a should be the boundary of their stations, and the one should cruize to the right as far as Marseilles, and the other to the left as far as Barium^b.

THIS year many strange prodigies were seen at Rome, and reported from foreign parts. In the area of the temple of Vulcan and Concord it rained blood, and the priests reported that the shields moved of themselves. At Lanuvium the statue of Juno Sospi-
ta wept. The pestilence was so great in the villages, market towns, and even Rome itself, that there were scarce people enough to bury the dead. The fathers were so uneasy at these prodigies and calami-

^a Campanella.^b Now Terra di Bari, in the kingdom of Naples.

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P. Corn. Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus consuls.

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ties, that they ordered the consuls to offer the larger sacrifices to what Gods they pleased, and the decemvirs to consult the Sybilline books. By the direction of the latter a solemn procession for one day was made to all the shrines in Rome. By a representation from them likewise, the fathers passed a decree, and the consuls issued an edict, that three days should be observed in solemn supplications, and free from all labor, over all Italy. The plague raged so violently, that when, upon the revolt of the Corsicans, and the insurrection of the Ilians^a in Sardinia, it was decreed that 8000 Latin foot and 300 horse should be raised to be carried to Sardinia by the prætor Posca, the mortality had been so great, and such vast numbers were sick, that the consuls declared they could not get men enough to complete those levies. For this reason he was ordered to take his quota out of the army which the pro-consul Bæbius had in winter quarters at Pisa, and from thence to sail for Sardinia. Duronius, who had got Apulia, was ordered to procede in the enquiry after the bacchanals, the seeds of whose former enormities had begun to appear again the preceding year. The former prætor Pupius had thereupon set the enquiry after them on foot again, but had not brought it to an issue; so that the fathers ordered the new prætor to grub it up by the roots, to prevent it's spreading farther. The consuls also, by authority of the senate, proposed several laws to the people for their sanction to restrain illegal practices in canvassing for offices.

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THEN the foreign ambassadors had audience of the senate. The first were those of Eumenes, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and Pharnaces king of Pontus. All the answer they received was, that the fathers would send commissioners to take cognizance of and accommodate their differences. Next were called the deputies of the Spartan exiles and of the Achæans. The former were made to hope, that let-

^a Originally descended from the Trojans. Their capital on the west of the island, now called *Llena*.

ters would be sent to the senate of Achæa, to order their being reinstated in their country. The Achæans gave a detail of their recovery of Messene, and settling affairs there, which the fathers approved. Two embassadors, Philocles and Apelles, also arrived from Philip. They had nothing to demand of the senate, but were rather sent as spies to discover what Perſes had accused Demetrius of, namely of certain conversations he had had with the Romans, in particular with Flamininus, about depriving his brother of the crown. Philip had sent them because he thought them indifferent persons, and attached to neither of his sons. However they were Perſes's accomplices and instruments in all his treacherous practices against his brother. Demetrius, who was ignorant of all, except his brother's malice which had lately discovered itself, neither entertained great hopes, nor absolutely despaired, of mollifying his father. But he had daily less dependance on his father's affection, when he saw the king heard only with his brother's ears. He therefore used the greatest caution both in his actions and conversation, that he might give no occasion of complaint, but in a particular manner all mention of, or commerce with, the Romans; insomuch that he desired them not to write any letters to him, knowing that an accusation of that kind would more particularly irritate his father against him.

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PHILIP, to prevent his troops from being enervated by inactivity, and remove all suspicion of his meditating a war with Rome, ordered his army to rendezvous at Stobi in Pæonia, and from thence proceeded to Mædica in Thrace. He had a great desire to go to the top of mount Hæmus, from his crediting a popular tradition, that from thence one might see the Black Sea, the Danube, the Adriatic Gulph, and the Alps. He flattered himself that this prospect with the naked eye would be of great service to him in forming the plan of the war. He enquired of persons acquainted with the country about

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the way that led up to the top of the mount. But as all agreed that it was impracticable for an army to march up it, and even a small company lightly appointed would find it very difficult, in order to sooth his younger son, whom he resolved not to take with him, he first asked him with an air of familiarity and affection, whether, ‘ since the way was represented to be so difficult, he would advise him to ‘ procede or quit his enterprize? But, says he, if I ‘ should march on, I can’t forget what happened to ‘ Antiochus in a like case. Being overtaken at sea ‘ by a violent storm, with all his family in the same ‘ ship, he is said to have ordered his children constantly to remember and warn their posterity, never ‘ to venture themselves with their whole family at the ‘ same time in dangerous enterprizes. For my own ‘ part, that precept has made so great an impression ‘ on me, that I will not risque both my sons in the ‘ hazardous expedition that is now proposed. And since ‘ I incline to take the eldest with me, I must send you ‘ back, to secure my hopes of posterity, and guard my ‘ dominions.’ Demetrius clearly perceived he was industriously sent away, that he might not be present at their councils, when, from a prospect of the country, they were to deliberate on the nearest way to sail to the Adriatic Gulph and Italy, and on the plan of the impending war. But he saw it was best for him in his present circumstances, not only to obey, but approve his father’s precaution, for fear of increasing his suspicions by seeming unwilling to comply. Under pretext of protecting his person on his rout back to Macedonia, Didas, governor of Pæonia, was ordered to attend him with a small escort. This governor was one of the conspirators against Demetrius’s life, and had been retained by Perseus, among a great number of Philip’s courtiers, who had entered themselves in that list ever since they saw clearly the bent of the king’s inclination, and whom he had destined to succede to his crown. At present he instructed this minister by an obsequious behavior to insinuate

insinuate himself into the prince's confidence, in order to draw from him all his secrets, and discover his private sentiments. Thus Demetrius set out with an escort more dangerous than if he had travel'd alone.

PHILIP first crossed Mædica, and then the de-
serts lying between it and Hæmus, and in seven days
arrived at the foot of the mount. There he stay'd
one day in order to chuse proper guards to accompa-
ny him to the top, and on the third day set out. He
found no great fatigue in ascending the lowermost
hills. But the higher he advanced he met with im-
penetrable coppices, which man had never trod. At
length they came to a place entirely covered with
thick trees, whose branches were so closely intermix-
ed, that the light could scarce penetrate through them.
When they approached the top, they found all so
covered with a thick fog, which seldom happens on
other mountains, that their journey was as much re-
tarded as if it had been dark night. However on
the third day they reached the top. When they came
down they confirmed the common report. This I
believe they did to prevent being ridiculed for so
foolish a journey, rather than that it was possible that
they could from a single spot have a prospect of seas,
mountains and rivers, so far distant from each other.
All the company, but especially the king, who was
advanced in years, were much fatigued with this dif-
ficult journey. They erected two altars on the top,
and sacrificed to Jupiter and the Sun, and then came
down in two days, whereas they had been three in
going up. What the king was most afraid of was
the cold nights, which, though it was then the dog
days, were as cold in that place as if it had been the
middle of winter. After having struggled with these
difficulties for five days, he found no matter of joy
in his camp, where the troops began to want provi-
sions in a country surrounded with deserts. There-
fore he tarried only one day to refresh the guard he
had had with him, and then marched as precipitate-
ly

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 XXII. Dentheletæ, who were in alliance with him. But
 the Macedonians were in so great scarcity, that they
 pillaged their lands as much as if they had belonged
 to professed enemies. For first they rifled their
 farms, and then several villages, to the great dis-
 grace of the king, who heard his allies in vain in-
 voking the protection of the Gods, guardians of alli-
 ances, and even his own help. Having carried off
 the corn, he returned to Mædica, and besieged Pe-
 tra. He himself encamped in a plain before the ci-
 ty, and detached Perfes with an inconsiderable body
 to invest it on the eminences on the other side. The
 inhabitants seeing themselves closely beset on all sides,
 gave hostages, and surrendered for the present. But
 as soon as the king's army was gone, they forgot the
 pledges of their fidelity, abandoned their city, and
 fled to their castles and mountains. Philip, after
 having harassed his troops with all manner of fatigue,
 and had his jealousy of his son Demetrius increased
 by the treacherous practices of Didas, returned to
 Macedonia.

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 XXIII. sent to accompany Demetrius, abused the simplicity
 of this uncautious prince, who had good reason to be
 discontented with his own relations. By soothing
 him, pretending to be enraged at the hard usage he
 met with, and voluntarily offering him his assistance,
 after swearing fidelity, he drew from him the secret of
 his designing to fly to the Romans. He imagined
 the Gods had propitiously sent, to assist him in this
 project, this governor of Pæonia, through whose
 province he hoped to find a safe escape. But the
 traitor immediately revealed the design to Perfes, and
 through him to the king. The first information he
 gave was by letters, which he sent to the camp before
 Petra. Afterwards Herodotus, Demetrius's princi-
 pal friend, was arrested, and guards ordered to watch
 Demetrius himself under pretext of doing him honor.
 These, more than any other incident, gave the king
 great

great uneasiness on his arrival in Macedonia. The CHAP.
accusations made a deep impression upon him for the XXIII.
time, but he thought it his wisest course to wait the return of the ambassadors he had sent to Rome as spies. After having passed several months in this distracting state of mind, the ambassadors returned with answers which had been concerted before they had set out from Macedonia. Besides the other treacherous devices, they delivered the king a forged letter, under a counterfeit seal, from Flaminius. The letter was a kind of apology for that Roman's conduct to the following effect. ' Though a desire of a crown, ' peculiar to young men, have carried you so far, as ' to communicate your designs to me, yet I will do ' nothing prejudicial to your relations. It is con- ' trary to my nature to countenance so villainous a ' project.' This letter made the king give entire credit to Perseus's accusations. In consequence Herodotus was immediately put to the rack, and after having long endured the most exquisite torments, expired without making any discovery.

PERSSES accused Demetrius before his father a CHAP.
second time, of having intended to make his escape XXIV.
through Pæonia. Several persons appeared to testify, that he had engaged them by bribes to accompany him. But what was principally urged against him, were the forged letters under the name of Flaminius. However they pronounced no sentence openly against him, but chose rather to put him to death privately ; not with a view to save his reputation, but for fear lest a public execution should discover the designs against Rome. Philip himself went from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent his youngest son, accompanied by Didas, to Æstræum in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive the Thracian hostages. At parting it is said he gave Didas instructions to put his son to death. Didas either instituted a sacrifice on purpose, or pretended it was on another account. He invited Demetrius to the festival, who accordingly came from Æstræum to assist

at the celebration of it at Heraclea. At supper the traitor gave a poisonous draught to the young prince, who as soon as he had drank it was sensible of it. His agonies soon began, and he left the table, retiring to his apartment, where in great torture he complained of his father's cruelty, his brother's parricide, and the treachery of Didas. Then two assassins, Thyrsis of Stymbara^a, and Alexander of Beræa^b, entered his chamber, wrap'd his head in a cloth, and stopping his mouth and nose suffocated him. Thus died an innocent young prince by a kind of double death, his enemies not contenting themselves with the single one by poison.

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DURING these transactions in Macedonia, L. Æmilius Paullus, who after his consulate had been continued in the command of Liguria, marched early in the spring into the country of the Ingauni. He no sooner encamped upon their lands, than they sent a deputation to him, under pretext of asking peace, but in reality to view his camp. Paullus having flatly refused all accommodation till they had surrendered, they told him they must have time granted, to induce their barbarous people to comply. In consequence they obtained a truce for ten days, to which they asked that he would not send his troops to fetch wood and forage from beyond the neighboring mountains, because that was the only cultivated part of their country. As soon as they obtained this, they drew together all their forces behind those very hills, from which they had removed the enemy, and came with an infinite multitude, and attacked all the gates of the Roman camp at once. They continued this attack all day with so much vigor, that they left the Romans neither the means for quitting their lines, or ground sufficient for drawing up. However they crowded about the gates, and stopt the enemy more by barricading them with their bodies, than by fighting. After sunset, when the enemy were retired, Paullus sent two troopers with letters to the pro-consul

^a A city of the *Deuriopes*.^b In *Ethamia*.

Cn. Bæbius at Pisa, desiring him to come directly and extricate him out of a danger into which he had been treacherously drawn under pretext of a truce. Bæbius had delivered up his troops to the prætor Posca to be carried to Sardinia. However he wrote to the senate to inform them of Paullus's danger, and to Marcellus, governor of the province nearest him, desiring, if he thought proper, to march from Gaul into Liguria to the relief of Paullus. But that relief would have come too late. For next day the Ligurians returned to the charge. Paullus, though he knew they would return, and might have quitted his lines, kept his troops within the camp, in order to gain time, till Bæbius's army should arrive from Pisa to his relief.

BÆBIUS's letters occasioned great consternation at Rome, and the more as Marcellus, who had left Fabius at the head of his army, having a few days after arrived at Rome, assured them that the troops in Gaul could not go to Liguria, by reason of a war with the Istrians, who endeavored to stop the settling a colony at Aquileia: that Fabius having entered their country, and commenced hostilities, could not now retire. The only hope then they had of relieving Paullus, and even that seemed slow, was to make the consuls hasten into their provinces. Each of the fathers loudly called upon them to depart. The consuls answered they could not go till they had completed their levies, the slowness of which was not owing to their inactivity, but to the violence of the plague. However, the senators were so unanimous and steady in their request, that the consuls could no longer refuse to set out, and order what troops they had to rendezvous at Pisa. They had commission to levy troops on their rout, and carry them with them. The prætor Spurius was ordered with all expedition to levy two legions of Roman citizens, and administer the military oath to all under 50 years of age; as Maximus was, to procure 15000 foot and 800 horse from the Latins. They also fitted out a fleet,

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fleet, and appointed C. Matienus and C. Lucretius to command it. The former, whose station was the gulph of Gaul, was ordered to sail directly to the coast of Liguria, to make all the diversion he could in favor of Paullus and his army.

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PAULLUS, seeing no relief appear, and believing the two troopers had been intercepted, resolved to try his own fortune. Before the enemy, whose ardor began to abate, came up, he marshal'd his troops at the four gates of his camp, to be ready to sally all at once as soon as a signal should be given. To the four extraordinary cohorts he added two more, under the command of M. Valerius, a lieutenant general, with orders to sally out at the Prætorian gate. At the right gate he posted the hastati of the first legion with the principes to support them. This corps was commanded by two legionary tribunes, M. Servilius and L. Sulpicius. At the left gate, under the conduct of Sex. Julius Cæsar and L. Aurelius Cotta, he drew up the third legion, with the principes in the front, and the hastati in the rear. The cavalry of the right wing were to march out at the Questorian gate under the command of Flaccus, a lieutenant general, and the triarii of the two legions ordered to stay and guard the camp. The pro-consul flew from gate to gate to harangue the troops, using all possible means to rouse their courage and resentment. ' We have to do, said he to some, ' with traitors, who having sued for peace, and obtained a truce, have come to attack us, contrary to ' the law of nations, before it is expired. Besides, ' cried he to others, what a shameful sight is it to see ' a well disciplined Roman army besieged by Ligurians, who act more like robbers than avowed enemies? Should you escape out of this danger by ' the relief of others, and not by your own valor, ' with what face will any of you meet, I do not say ' those brave fellows who vanquished Hannibal, ' Philip and Antiochus, the most powerful monarchs ' of our age, but even those who have often chased ' those very Ligurians like wild beasts through un- ' frequented

‘ frequented forests, and cut them to pieces? Shall a
‘ banditti of Ligurians dare to approach and assault
‘ a Roman camp, which the Spaniards, Gauls,
‘ Macedonians and Carthaginians never durst? Li-
‘ gurians, I say, whom we could scarce find in their
‘ secret holes, when we formerly beat all the pathless
‘ forests for them?’ To this the troops with a great
shout answered, ‘ that they were not to blame, since
‘ they had received no signal to sally. Let us hear
‘ the sound of the trumpet, and we will make you
‘ sensible that both Romans and Ligurians are the
‘ same as ever.’

THE Ligurians had two camps on this side of the
mountains, from whence by sun-rising they marched
out in good order the first day. But now they did
not take arms, till they had filled themselves with
meat and wine; and on quitting their lines dispersed
without keeping their ranks, assuring themselves that
the Romans would not venture out of their entrench-
ments. In this disorderly manner they advanced,
when the Romans, sending up a shout, which was
seconded by all who remained in the camp, soldiers
and sutlers, sally'd upon them from all the gates at
once. The enemy were as much terrify'd at this un-
expected attack, as if they had fallen into an ambush.
However they kept up the appearance of a battle for
some time. But they were soon routed and great
slaughter was made of them in the flight. The sig-
nal was given to the cavalry to mount and suffer
none of them to escape. At first they were driven
in precipitation to their camp, and then dislodged
from it likewise. Above 15000 of them were killed,
and 2500 taken prisoners. Three days after all the
Ingaunians submitted and gave hostages for their fi-
delity. Enquiry was made after all the captains and
sailors, who had committed piracies on the sea, and
they were all thrown into prison. C. Matienus, the
Roman admiral, took 32 piratical vessels on the
coast of Liguria. L. Aurelius Cotta and C. Sulpicius
Gallus were dispatched to Rome with letters to inform
the

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the senate of what had happened, and beg liberty for Paullus to quit the province, bring back and disband his army. The senate granted the request, and decreed a supplication to all the shrines for three days. Spurius was ordered to disband the city legions, and Maximus not to levy the Latin troops. The former was also ordered to write to the consuls, to disband the troops they had raised in haste upon the first alarm.

CHAP. XXIX. THIS year a colony was settled at Gravisca, a region of Hetruria, which had formerly been taken from the Tarquinians. Each planter had five acres of land, and were led thither by C. Calpurnius Piso, P. Claudius Pulcher and C. Terentius Istra. This year was also remarkable for a great drought and scarcity of corn. It is said, it never rained for six months. This year some workmen digging up the ground in a field belonging to L. Petillius the scribe, found two stone chests eight feet long and four broad, the joinings whereof were covered with lead. According to the Latin and Greek inscriptions on them, in one had been buried the Roman king Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo; and the other contained his books. The owner of the ground, by advice of his friends, opened them. That in which it appeared by the inscription that the king had been bury'd was found empty without the least vestige of a human body or any thing else, the whole having been consumed by lying so long under ground. In the other were found two bundles, ty'd up with pitched strings, each containing seven books, not only entire, but the writing fair and fresh. The seven first, written in Latin, contained the laws of the pontifs. The other seven in Greek treated of the philosophy which prevailed in Numa's days. Valerius Antias says, they were a collection of the Pythagorean doctrines. But it is probable that Antias, by this fiction intended to give credit to the common tradition that Numa had been Pythagoras's disciple. Petillius's friends first read the books, and then they

were communicated to many, so that they were in a manner made public. The city prætor, Q. Pet. Spurius, having a strong inclination to peruse them, borrow'd them of L. Petillius, who lay under obligations to him, for having procured him his secretary's place when he was questor. In perusing them he observed, that many things in them tended to destroy religion, and told L. Petillius, 'that he resolved to burn them. But before he did it, he would suffer him to have recourse to law, or any other means in his power, to recover them from him, and that without the breach of friendship.' The proprietor apply'd to the tribunes of the people, who refer'd him to the senate. The prætor offered to swear, that the books ought neither to be read or preserved. The senate resolved, 'That the prætor's offering to swear was sufficient, and therefore the books should be burnt as soon as possible in the comitium. And to make up the proprietor's loss, such a sum of money as the prætor and majority of the tribunes should value them at, should be paid him.' But Petillius generously refused to accept the money. However the books were burnt before all the people in the comitium, by the persons who killed the victims.

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XXIX.

A TERRIBLE war broke out this year in Hither Spain. The Celtiberians took the field with 35000 men, a much more numerous army than ever they had had before. Q. Fulvius Flaccus was then prætor of that province. As soon as he heard the Celtiberians were arming, he gathered together all the troops the allies could furnish him with, but was still much inferior to the enemy in number. However early in the spring he entered the country of the Carpetani, and encamped near Ebura^a, leaving a small garison in the city. A few days after the Celtiberians posted themselves within two miles of him at the foot of a mountain. As soon as the prætor got intelligence of their arrival, he detached his brother Fulvius with two troops of the allies horse to

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^a Near Talavera la Reyna, in Portugal.

CHAP. reconnoitre their camp. He ordered him to go as
 xxx. near their camp as possible, that he might the better
 discover it's extent, but to avoid skirmishing and
 retire if he saw the enemy's horse coming out against
 him. Fulvius executed his orders exactly. No other
 motion was made during four days, except these two
 troops shewing themselves, and then retiring, when
 the enemy's horse sally'd out to attack them. At last
 the Celtiberians quitted their camp, both horse and
 foot, and drawing up in order of battle, halted about
 the middle between the two camps. The ground
 was all level and very fit for an action. There stood
 the Spaniards expecting the enemy. The Romans
 kept within their lines during four successive days,
 while the enemy came every day to the same post in
 order of battle. The Romans did not stir all this
 time. So that the enemy, seeing no opportunity of
 fighting, remain'd quiet too; only keeping an ad-
 vanced guard of horse, to be ready in case the Ro-
 mans should make any motion. Both parties went
 a foraging behind their camps, without harassing each
 other.

CHAP. THE prætor, imagining that, by his not stirring
 xxxi. for so many days, the enemy were fully assured he
 would not attack them first, detached L. Acilius with
 the cavalry of the left wing and 6000 Spanish auxili-
 aries, to go round to a hill behind the enemy, from
 whence he was to fall down upon their camp, as soon
 as ever he should hear the shout for action. This
 detachment set out in the night to prevent their being
 descry'd. At day break Flaccus sent C. Scribonius
 a prefect of the allies up to the enemy's lines with
 the extraordinary squadrons of the left wing. When
 the Celtiberians found that this body was more nume-
 rous and came nearer than usual, they sent out all
 their cavalry, and gave the foot the signal to follow.
 Scribonius, in pursuance of his orders, no sooner
 heard the neighing of their horses, than he wheeled and
 retreated to his camp, which made the enemy pursue
 him with the greater precipitation. Their horse ad-
 vanced

vanced first and then their foot in order of battle, and confident they would force the Roman lines that day. CHAP. xxxi.

They were within 500 paces of them, when Flaccus, thinking he had decoy'd them far enough to put it out of their power to relieve their camp, sally'd out at three different quarters, with his troops which he had formed within their lines. Then they sent up a loud shout, not only to animate them to battle, but to make the detachment on the mountains hear. It did not tarry, but running down from the hill, agreeable to order, fell upon the enemy's camp, where they found a guard only of 500 men left to defend it. The smallness of their own number, the multitude of the enemy, and the unexpected attack so terrify'd them, that they suffered their lines to be taken without striking a stroke. Acilius set fire to that part in particular which was in view of the enemy.

THE rear of the Celtiberians first discovered the flames: but presently the report spread through their whole army, that their camp was lost and on fire. CHAP. xxxii. This struck them with terror and greatly animated the Romans, who by this time heard the shouts of their victorious detachment, and saw their enemies tents burning. The Celtiberians continued some time in suspense as to the course they should take; but finding they had no retreat in case of a defeat, and that their whole dependance must be on victory, they renewed the charge with greater resolution. Their center was vigorously pressed by the fifth legion. But they advanced against the Roman left, where they saw the auxiliaries of their own nation posted, with greater confidence. They were upon the point of breaking them, when the seventh legion advanced to their support. Besides, the garison that had been left behind at Ebury and Acilius came both up in the very heat of the action. By this means the enemy were for a long time slaughtered in front and rear. Those who survived fled on all quarters. Then the cavalry pursued in two different divisions, and made great havoc among them. 23000 of

of them were killed, and 4800 taken, with upwards of 500 horse and 98 colors. This was a complete but bloody victory. The two Roman legions lost 200, the Latins 700, and the Spanish auxiliaries 2400. Then the prætor led back his victorious troops to their camp. Acilius was ordered to stay in the camp he had taken. Next day, the enemy were stripped, and in a full assembly rewards distributed to those who had signalized themselves by a gallant behavior.

CHAP. THEN the wounded were carried into Eburya, XXXIII. and the army marched cross Carpetania to Contrebia^a.

This city being besieged sent to the Celtiberians for relief; but they did not arrive in time. This was not owing to their hesitating; for they set out, but found the roads impracticable, by continual rains and the overflowing of the rivers. In consequence the inhabitants, despairing of succor, surrendered at discretion. The storm also obliged Flaccus to draw all his army into the town. The Celtiberians, who were on their march and knew nothing of the surrendry, as soon as the rains abated passed the rivers, and arrived at Contrebia. Seeing no camp without the walls, they supposed the enemy had removed farther off or were retired altogether, and marched up to it in great disorder. The Romans sally'd out upon them at two gates, and attacking them before they were formed, put them to the rout. But the very thing that hindered them from making resistance and beginning the battle, namely, their advancing in small bodies without order, saved great numbers of them in the flight. For they were so far dispersed over the fields, that the enemy could never surround many of them at a time. However 12000 of them were killed, and upwards of 5000 taken with 400 horses and 62 colors. Such of them as were dispersed in the flight, retired home, and by reporting the surrendry of Contrebia and their own defeat, turned back another body of their countrymen who were

^a Now Tortosa in New Castile.

coming to their relief. They all immediately slip'd away to their villages and forts. Flaccus set out from that city and laid waste all Celtiberia. He took many fortify'd places, till the greatest part of the country submitted.

THESE were the memorable events in Hither Spain this year. In the Further province the prætor Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. The same year the Latins, to the number of 3000, settled at Aquileia in the territories of the Gauls, by P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius and L. Manlius Acidinus. Each foot soldier had 50 acres of land, the centurions 100, and the knights 140 apiece. Two temples were also dedicated this year; one to Venus Erycina at the Colline gate by L. Porcius Licinus: it had been vow'd by the consul his father in the Ligurian war; the other by Manius Acilius Glabrio, in the Herb market, to Piety. In dedicating it, he caused the first gilded statue that had been seen in Italy to be erected in honor of his father Glabrio. The father had vowed this temple on the day he engaged Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and by decree of the senate had bargained for the expence of it. About the time that these temples were dedicated L. Æmilius Paullus the proconsul triumphed for the Ligurians and Ingaunians. In the procession were carry'd 25 crowns of gold, but no gold or silver coin. Many of the principal Ligurians were led before his chariot. He distributed 300 asses of brass to each of his soldiers. What rendered his triumph more famous was deputies from Liguria demanding a perpetual peace. They assured the senate that their nation were fully determined never to take up arms, except by the order of the Roman people. The senate ordered the prætor Maximus to give them the following answer. ' That this language of their's was not new. But it was most for their interest to make new resolutions agreeable to their speech. They might repair to the consuls and punctually execute their directions. For the senate would refer themselves to none else but these magistrates

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XXXIV.

CHAP. XXXIV. magistrates in respect to the sincerity of the intentions of the Ligurians.' Peace was concluded with them. The prætor Posca fought the Corsicans in their own island, and killed 2000 of them. This defeat obliged them to give hostages for their fidelity and pay 100000 pound weight of wax. From thence he went on an expedition into Sardinia, and fought several successful battles with the Ilians, a nation not entirely reduced even at this day. This year also the Romans restored 100 of their hostages to the Carthaginians, and not only continued at peace with them themselves, but procured it for them from Masinissa, who with an army kept possession of the district in dispute betwixt them.

CHAP. XXXV. THE consuls had no employment in their provinces. M. Bæbius returned to the city to hold the elections wherein the fasces were transfer'd to A.

A. Post. Albinus Luscus and C. Calpurnius Piso. Then T. Sempronius Gracchus, L. Posthumus Albinus, P. Cornelius Mammula, Tib. Minucius Molliculus, A. Hostilius Mancinus, and C. Mænius were chosen prætors. All these magistrates entered on their office upon the 15th of May. In the beginning of the new consulate, the consul Luscus introduced to the senate the lieutenant general L. Minucius and two legionary tribunes, T. Mœnius and L. Terentius Massa, who had come as messengers from Flaccus in Hither Spain. After they had informed the fathers of the two victories, the submission of the Celtiberians, and the total reduction of the province, and that there was no occasion to send the usual pay and corn to the army there, they first demanded, ' that thanks should be returned to the immortal Gods for these victories. Then leave for Flaccus, ' when he left the province, to bring back the army, ' which had done the greatest service by their bravery ' both under him and preceding prætors. Besides ' they represented, that there was an absolute necessity for doing what was otherwise reasonable. ' For the troops were so obstinate, that they would ' not

‘not be kept there any longer, but would quit the
‘province without leave, if they were not disbanded,
‘or would raise a dangerous mutiny, if they were
‘detained by force.’ Liguria was allotted to be the
province of both consuls. Then the prætors drew
lots for theirs. Mancinus got the jurisdiction of
citizens; Molliculus, that of foreigners; Mammula,
Sicily; Mœnius, Sardinia; Albinus, Farther; and
Gracchus, Hither Spain. The latter, who was to
succeed Flaccus, in order to prevent his being deprived
of the veteran army, said, ‘Let me ask you, L.
‘Minucius, since you say the province is entirely
‘reduced, if you think the Celtiberians will for ever
‘continue faithful, and that the province may be
‘kept in subjection without an army? If you cannot
‘assure us absolutely of the fidelity of these barbarians,
‘and are of opinion that there should still be an
‘army there, whether would you advise the senate
‘to send recruits thither, to be mingled with the
‘veterans in room of such as have served the legal
‘number of campaigns who shall be disbanded? or
‘to bring back the whole veteran army, and levy
‘and send a new one to supply it’s place? since the
‘contempt the barbarians must have for raw, un-
‘disciplined troops, would induce even the most
‘tractable among them to rebel. It is easier to say,
‘that a people of ferocity and accustomed to rebel
‘are entirely reduced, than to perform it. Indeed,
‘if my information be true, a few of the nearest
‘states, overawed by the army wintering in their
‘neighborhood, have submitted, but those in the
‘extreme parts of the province are still in arms. If
‘this be the case, I insist, that I have the army now
‘in the province to act under me. But if Flaccus
‘bring it with him, I will winter in places that are
‘at peace, and not expose raw troops to warlike ene-
‘mies.’

THE lieutenant general reply’d, ‘that neither he CHAP.
‘nor any one else could divine either the present or xxxvi.
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future resolutions of the Celtiberians. Therefore
 he would not deny but it was the best policy to
 send an army amongst those barbarians, who,
 though quiet at present, were not yet sufficiently
 accustomed to the yoke. But whether it was most
 expedient to send a new or keep the old army
 there, he left to be determined by him, who could
 tell upon his knowledge, whether the enemy would
 maintain the peace inviolably; and whether the
 troops would not mutiny, if kept longer in the
 province. But if one could form a judgment of
 their thoughts from their conferences with one ano-
 ther, and the loud remonstrances they made to the
 general in their assemblies, he could assure them that
 they resolutely declared they would either keep their
 general in the province, or accompany him to Italy.
 This debate between the prætor and lieutenant general
 was interrupted by a motion of the consuls, declaring
 it reasonable, that their provinces should be provided
 for, before any mention was made of the prætors ar-
 mies. Accordingly they were allow'd two new Roman
 legions with their complement of horse, and the usual
 quota of Latins, 15000 infantry and 800 cavalry.
 With this army they were ordered to make war upon
 the Ligurian Apuans. P. Cornelius and M. Bæbius
 were continued in their commands, with orders to
 remain in the province till the arrival of the new
 consuls. Then they were to disband their armies
 and return to Rome. Then Gracchus's army came
 again upon the carpet. The consuls were ordered to
 levy for him a new legion consisting of 5200 foot
 and 400 horse, besides 1000 Roman foot and 50
 horse, with 7000 foot and 300 horse to be levy'd
 among the Latins. This force he was ordered to
 carry into his province. As for Flaccus, he had per-
 mission to bring back with him all the Romans and
 allies that had been sent into Spain before the consu-
 late of Sp. Posthumius and Q. Marcius, and after the
 arrival of the supplies, all those by whose valor he
 had

had gained the two victories over the Celtiberians, that exceeded two Roman legions consisting of 10400 foot and 600 horse, and 12000 Latin foot and 600 horse, if he thought proper. Then supplications were appointed for his success, and the other prætors sent into their provinces. Buteo was continued in his command of Gaul. Thus the whole standing army that year was to be eight legions, besides the old army in Liguria, which hoped soon to be disbanded. However the plague, which had now raged three years in Rome and Italy, occasioned great difficulty in raising this small force.

THE prætor Minucius, and soon after the con-
sul Calpurnius died, with many other illustrious men
of all ranks. So at length the present mortality was
turned into a prodigy. Upon this, C. Servilius, the
pontifex maximus, was ordered to search for expe-
dients to appease the wrath of the Gods, and the
decemvirs to consult the Sybilline books; the consul
also to vow presents to Apollo, Æsculapius and
Health, and to erect gilded statues to them, which
he accordingly performed. For restoring health, the
decemvirs ordered supplications for two days in the
city and in all market towns and villages. In these
all above twelve years of age were to march in pro-
cession, with crowns on their heads and laurel branches
in their hands. Besides people began to suspect that
the mortality might be owing to some devilish
practices. Accordingly by act of senate a com-
mission was granted to C. Claudius, who had been
chosen prætor in the room of Minucius, to enquire
after all poisonings in the city, and within ten miles
round it; and also to C. Mænius, before he went
into Sardinia, to take the same recognition in all
market towns and villages more than ten miles distant
from Rome. The consul's death was most suspected
of any. He was said to have been murdered by his
wife Quarta Hostilia, and this report gain'd more
credit, when Q. Fulvius Flaccus her son was cho-
sen consul in room of his father in law. Witnesses
appeared,

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CHAP. appeared, who deposed, that after the nomination of
 xxxvii. Albinus and Piso to the consulate, from which Flacus had been rejected, that his mother upbraided him with having thrice met with a repulse, at the same time bidding him make interest again, for she would take proper measures to have him elected within three months. Amongst other evidences, that speech of hers being verify'd by the event within the time she had fixed was thought sufficient to condemn her. In the beginning of the spring, while the levies detained the consuls at Rome, and the death of one and election of another in his room retarded all business there, P. Cornelius Lentulus and M. Bæbius, who had performed nothing memorable during their consulate, marched against the Apuans.

CHAP. THESE people, who did not expect to be at-
 xxxviii. tacked before the arrival of the consuls, being thus surprized, surrendered to the number of 12000. Cornelius and Bæbius, after writing to the senate for their advice, resolved to remove them from the mountains into the plains, to such a distance from their country, that they should entertain no hopes of ever returning to it again. They were convinced that this was the only means for terminating the Ligurian war. The Romans were in possession of a district of Samnium, which had formerly belonged to the Taurasini. Chusing to settle the Apuans there, they published an edict, ordering them all, with their wives and children and all the effects they could carry with them, to quit the mountains of Anidos*. The Ligurians, by their deputies, earnestly conjured them not to compel them to abandon their household Gods, the country which had given them birth, and the tombs of their ancestors, for the rest they promised to deliver up their arms and give hostages. But finding the proconsuls inexorable, and themselves not strong enough to sustain a war, they obeyed the edict. Thus they were transplanted at the public expence, to the number of 40000 men with their wives and children.

* Now *Bergalla*.

They were allowed 150000 silver sesterces to defray the expence of building new houses. Cornelius and Bæbius, who had led them to their new settlement, were charged with dividing the lands amongst them, but upon their petition five others were joined in the commission with them. Having finished this business, they returned with the old army to Rome, where a triumph was decreed to them by the senate. They were the first generals who triumphed without having made war. Only prisoners were led in their procession, because they had nothing else either to carry, lead, or distribute to their soldiers.

THE same year Fulvius Flaccus, the pro-prætor CHAP. in Hither Spain, because his successor was long of XXXIX. coming, quitted his winter quarters, and went into the further parts of his province, which had not yet submitted, with a design to ravage their lands. This rather irritated than terrified these barbarians. They secretly prepared an army, and seized the pass of Manlius, through which they knew the Roman army was to pass. When Albinus set out for the further province, Gracchus sent orders by him to Flaccus, to bring his troops to Tarraco, where he intended to disband the old troops, distribute the new, and marshal them all into different companies. Nay Flaccus was informed of the very day when his successor would arrive, which was near at hand. This news made him lay aside the plans he had formed, and hasten out of Celtiberia. The barbarians, not knowing the real motive of his retreat, and thinking he had discovered and was afraid of their secret armament, guarded the defile more strictly. The Romans had no sooner entered it by break of day, than the enemies started up at both extremities, and attacked them. When Flaccus perceived this, his first care was to prevent confusion among his troops, by ordering the centurions to make every man keep his rank and make ready his arms. He threw the baggage and carriage beasts into one place, and then partly in person, and partly by the lieutenant generals

rals and legionary tribunes, drew up the troops, without shewing any fear or perplexity, in as good order as the time and ground would admit. Then he represented to them, ‘ that they had to do with an enemy whom they had twice forced to surrender. ‘ They have no more strength and courage now than ‘ formerly. Their only new accessions are guilt and ‘ perfidy. We shall be obliged to them for a glorious and memorable return to our country, which ‘ would otherwise have been obscure. We shall carry in our triumph at Rome swords reeking with recent slaughter, and spoils dropping blood.’ He had not time to say more. For the enemy had fallen on, and the fight, which was begun at both extremities, soon extended through the whole army.

CHAP.


XL.




THE action was every where very warm, but attended with various fortune. The two legions in the centre and the allies sustained the battle with great bravery; but the Spanish auxiliaries, who had to deal with men armed at all points like themselves, and somewhat better soldiers, were not able to keep their ground. The Celtiberians, seeing they were not a match for the legions by fighting in a large front close at hand, attacked them in form of a wedge. In this kind of charge they had so much the advantage, that wherever they attacked it was impossible to sustain them. In consequence they put the legions into disorder, and had almost broke the Roman main body. When Flaccus perceived the confusion among his men, he gallop'd up to the legionary cavalry, and said, ‘ Can you give no relief? Must ‘ this fine army be cut to pieces?’ They all cried out to him, to name what he would have them do, and they would execute it immediately. ‘ Double ‘ your ranks, cried he, by uniting the horse of two ‘ legions, and charge that wedge, which presses our ‘ centre so vigorously. This you will do with more ‘ force, if you unbridle your horses.’ There are many instances on record, where the Romans used this expedient with great success. They immediately executed

executed their general's order. They pulled off their bridles, and twice charged backwards and forwards through the enemy, breaking their lances and making great slaughter of them. By this means was the wedge, on which the enemy placed their sole dependence, broken, and they began to tremble, and leaving off fighting looked about for a way to escape. The cavalry of the allies, seeing this glorious action of the Roman horse, and fired with an emulation of their valor, charged without orders the enemies horse, which were already in disorder. Then the rout became general, and Flaccus, observing the enemy turn their backs, vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris, and games in honor of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings. Great slaughter was made of the enemy all over the defile, where they were dispersed in the flight. It is said 17000 were killed, and 3000 taken, with 277 standards, and 1100 horse. The victorious army retired to no camp that day. After all this victory was not gained without much bloodshed. The Romans lost 472, the Latins 1019, and the Spanish auxiliaries 3000. Then the army, having made a great accession to their former glory, marched to Tarraco. The prætor Gracchus, who had arrived there two days before, went out to meet Flaccus on his march, and congratulated him on the glorious service he had done the state. These two generals with great harmony agreed upon the troops which should be dismissed, and those which should remain in the province. After that Flaccus embarked the troops that were discharged, and set out for Rome. Gracchus marched into Celtiberia. Both consuls entered Liguria by different routs.

POSTHUMIUS with the first and third legions seized the mounts of Balista and Suismont, and by shutting up the defiles, through which the enemy got their provisions, obliged them to submit for want of all kinds of necessaries. Fulvius with the second and fourth having forced the Apuans, who dwelt on the river Macra on the side of Pisa, to submit, em-

CHAP. XLI.  barked 7000 of them, and coasting along Tuscany, transported them to Naples. From thence he led them to Samnium, and assigned them lands among their countrymen. Posthumius burnt the vineyards and corn of the Ligurians inhabiting the mountains, till, by making them suffer all the calamities of war, he obliged them to surrender and deliver up their arms. Then he went with some ships to survey the coasts of the Ligurian Ingaunians and Intemelians. Before these consuls arrived at the army, which had been appointed to rendezvous at Pisa, it was commanded by A. Posthumius, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, brother of Quintus. The latter was a tribune of the second legion. During the months that he commanded, he dismissed that legion, having first made the centurions take an oath, that they would return their pay to the quæstors. Posthumius, who had chanced to go to Placentia, no sooner heard this, than he pursued them with some light horse, and brought back to Pisa as many as he could overtake, after having severely rebuked them, and then informed the consul of the rest. Upon the consul's motion the senate passed a decree, to banish M. Fulvius to Spain, and confine him beyond New Carthage. Letters were given him to carry to the prætor Manlius in the Further province. The soldiers were ordered to return to their colors, and as a mark of disgrace, that legion was allow'd only half pay during that year. The consul had commission to sell the effects and persons of such as should not return.

CHAP. XLII.  THE same year, L. Duronius, prætor of the preceding year, arrived at Brundisium with ten sail of ships from Illyricum. There he left them and returned to Rome. In giving the senate a detail of his exploits, among other things he represented, ' that
' Gentius, king of Illyricum, was certainly the au-
' thor of all the piracies committed by sea. For all
' the ships that had plundered the coasts of the Adri-
' atic belonged to that prince. That he had sent a
' deputation to him to complain of these violences,
' but

‘but he refused them admittance.’ Gentius, on the contrary, had sent envoys to Rome, to represent, that at the time the Roman ambassadors arrived at his court, he lay dangerously ill at the extremities of his kingdom. He beg’d the senate not to give credit to the false accusations his enemies had brought against him.’ Duronius added, that many Roman citizens and Latins had been insulted in his dominions, and he even kept many Romans prisoners in Corcyra. The senate ordered them all to be brought to Rome, and the prætor C. Claudius to take cognizance of the affair, and that no answer should be returned to Gentius’s deputies, till it was finished. Among many others who died of the plague this year, were several priests, L. Valerius Flaccus, a pontif, died, and was succeeded by Q. Fabius Labeo, P. Manlius, one of the triumvirs for the celebration of solemn feasts, and who had lately returned from Further Spain, was succeeded by Q. Fulvius, son of Marcus, who had not yet put on the manly gown. There was a hard struggle between C. Servilius, the pontifex maximus, and L. Cornelius Dolabella, about supplying the room of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, as king of the sacrifices. The latter being admiral of a fleet, the pontifex ordered him to demit that office before he could be inaugurated. He refused, for which the pontifex fined him. The admiral lodged an appeal, and brought the affair before the people. Just as most of the tribes which had been called into the voting place had declared the admiral ought to submit to the priest, and that in case he demitted his command, his fine should be remitted, it thundered, and so the assembly broke up. Upon this the priests were seized with a religious scruple of inaugurating Dolabella. So they install’d P. Clœlius Siculus, and confer’d on him the second place in their college. In the end of the year, C. Servilius Geminus, the pontifex maximus, died. He was likewise one of the ten keepers of the sacred books. In his room as priest the college chose Q. Fulvius

Fulvius Flaccus. M. Aemilius Lepidus was prefer'd to many illustrious candidates to succede him as pontifex maximus, and Q. Marcius Philippus as keeper of the sacred books. Sp. Posthumius Albinus the augur died, and their college chose in his room P. Scipio son of Africanus. Upon a petition from the people of Cutilæ, they were allowed to use the Latin tongue in their public acts, and their criers to use it in auctions.

CHAP. XLIII. THE senate thanked the Pisans for their offer of lands to settle a Roman colony in. The three commissioners who were appointed to settle it were Q. Fabius Buteo, M. and P. Popilii, C. Mænius, who had got the prætorships of Sardinia, with commission to take cognizance of the poisoners in Italy, wrote to the senate, ' that he had already condemn'd 3000 persons. But as this troublesome enquiry daily increased by the multitude of informations, he must either defer it, or abdicate his province.' At the same time Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned to Rome full of glory, and while he lodged without the city waiting for his triumph was elected consul with L. Manlius Acidinus. Within a few days he entered Rome in triumph at the head of the troops he had brought with him. In the procession were carry'd 124 gold crowns, 31 pound^a weight of gold, 173000 pieces of silver coined at Huesca. Out of the spoils he gave each foot soldier 500 denarii^b, double to the centurions, and triple to the knights. He rewarded the Latins in the same proportion, and gave all in general double pay. This year L. Villius, tribune of the people, passed the law which determined the necessary age for standing candidate for and bearing each magistracy. This occasioned the whole family of Villii to be surnamed **ANNALES**.

CHAP. XLIV. MANY years after the custom of chusing only four prætors agreeable to the Bæbian law, which ordained that each should continue two years in his province, had been discontinued, Cn. Cornelius Scipio,

^a 1488 lb. ^b 16 l. 2 s. 11 d.

C. Valerius Lævinus, Q. and P. Mucii, sons of Scævola, were elected prætors. The new consuls had the same provinces and the same number of horse and foot, Romans and Latins, that the former had. Sempronius and Posthumius were continued in the two Spains, and the command of the armies under them. Besides the consuls were ordered to levy 3000 Roman foot and 300 horse, with 5000 foot and 400 horse belonging to the Latins, and send as a recruit to them. P. Scævola got the jurisdiction over citizens, with the cognizance of the poisoners in the city, and within ten miles round it; Scipio got the jurisdiction over foreigners; Q. Scævola, Sicily; and Lævinus, Sardinia. The consul Fulvius declared, that before he entered on any public business, he would remove his own and the religious alarms of the state by paying his vows. In the last battle with the Celtiberians he had vowed games to Jupiter, and a temple to Fortuna Equestris, and collected money in Spain for that purpose. The games were voted, and duumvirs appointed to agree for building the temple. As to the expence of the games, ' it was ' not to exceed what had been allotted to Fulvius ' Nobilior, when he exhibited games after having ' terminated the Ætolian war. That he should nei- ' ther seek, collect, receive, or act any thing con- ' trary to an act of senate relating to games, past in ' the consulate of L. Æmilius and Cn. Bæbius.' This decree of senate had been occasioned by the vast expences of the games exhibited by the ædile Tib. Sempronius, which had fallen very heavy, not only upon Italy and the Latins, but even upon the foreign provinces.

CHAP.
XLIV.
Q. Fulv.
Flaccus and
L. Manlius
Acidinus
consuls.
Y. of R. 573.
B. J. C. 179.

THIS winter produced a great quantity of snow and storms of all kinds. The tender trees, upon which frost had an easy effect, were all blasted; besides the winter continued longer than usual. In consequence a sudden and boisterous storm disturbed the celebration of the feriæ latinæ on mount Alba, so that they were renewed by direction of the priests. The

CHAP.
XLV.

CHAP. The same tempest threw down many statues in the ca-
XLV. pitol, and many places were defaced with lightening; the temple of Jupiter at Terracina, the white temple at Capua, the gate called Romana, and the battlements of the walls in several places. Amidst these prodigies advice arrived from Reate, that a mule had been foaled with three feet. For these reasons the decemvirs were ordered to consult the sacred books. They appointed what sacrifices should be offered, and to what Gods; and for the injuries done by the thunder, ordered a supplication for one day in the temple of Jupiter. Then the games which Q. Fulvius had vowed were celebrated during ten days with the greatest magnificence. Then the comitia were held for the election of censors. M. Æmilius Lepidus, the pontifex maximus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed for the Ætolians, were promoted to that dignity. There was a mutual enmity between these great men, which had broke out in several violent contests, both in the senate, and before the people. When the elections were over, and the new censors had ascended their curule chairs in the field of Mars, near the altar of that God, the principal senators, followed by a great train, ran thither. Then Q. Cæcilius Metellus made them the following speech.

CHAP. ' We are very sensible, censors, that the Roman
XLVI. ' people have just now constituted you the arbiters of
 ' our manners, and that it is you who are to correct
 ' and regulate our conduct, not we yours. Give us
 ' leave, however, to point out what in you gives of-
 ' fence to all persons of worth, at least what they wish
 ' you would amend. When we consider each of you
 ' separately, Æmilius and Fulvius, there is no mem-
 ' ber of our state whom we would prefer to you,
 ' were we to give our suffrages again. But when we
 ' survey you both together, we cannot help being a-
 ' fraid, that you are very ill joined; and that, since
 ' animosities subsist between you, the commonwealth
 ' may suffer, though you have the esteem of all in-
 ' dividuals.

dividuals. You have been at open enmity for many years, which must sit heavy upon, and be very prejudicial to yourselves; but this day we have reason to apprehend, it may become infinitely more so to us and the republic, than to you. Many reasons, which easily suggest themselves, might be named, to justify our fears, if it were not that the mentioning them might render your mutual hatred implacable. We all in general conjure you to lay aside those animosities this day, and in this sacred temple; and, as the Roman people have by their suffrages united you in the same office, you would suffer us to unite you by a hearty reconciliation. You are with one mind and one counsel to review the senate, and the order of knights, to tax the citizens, and close the lustrum. All these you are to introduce with this solemn form of prayer, *May the Gods grant, that the present business may turn to the glory and advantage of me and my colleague.* Act therefore in them all with that sincerity and unanimity, as will convince all men, that you heartily wish the accomplishment of the prayers you address to the Gods. Tatius and Romulus, after fighting sword in hand in the middle of our forum, governed the same state in union and concord. Not only private dissensions, but even wars, are terminated by amicable agreements. States, from inveterate enemies, often become faithful allies, nay fellow citizens. The Albans, after the demolition of their city, removed to Rome; the Latins and the Sabines were incorporated with the Romans. This maxim, *Friendships ought to be immortal, enmities mortal*, became a common proverb, because founded in reason.' A murmur of applause interrupted Metellus, and all joined together in the request. Then Æmilius, among other things, complained that Fulvius had twice disappointed him of the consulate, when he was otherwise sure of it. On the other side Fulvius insisted, that Æmilius had constantly provoked him, and had to disgrace him brought a suit against

gainst him, and forced him to give security for the thing in dispute. However they both signified, that, if the other was willing, they would comply with the desire of so many illustrious persons. At the instances of all present, they affectionately embraced, protested they were sincere in their reconciliation, and renounced all resentment. Then the company with loud acclamations waited on them to the capitol. The senate highly approved and applauded the care of the principal citizens in bringing about this reconciliation, and the facility of the censors in complying with their desires. These magistrates desired a certain sum might be assigned them to be laid out on the public works, and they obtained a whole year's revenue.

CHAP. XLVII. THE same year Posthumius and Sempronius, prætors of Spain, agreed between themselves, that the former should cross Lusitania into the country of the Vaccæi, and then return into Celtiberia. As the latter had the most important war upon his hands, he penetrated directly into the extremities of Celtiberia. His first exploit was taking Munda^a, by surprising it in the night. Having received hostages from the inhabitants, and put a garison in the town, he proceeded to reduce the castles, and lay waste the country with fire and sword, till he came to another strong city called Certima^b. As he was approaching it with his machines, deputies came out, who with an ancient but honest frankness confessed, that they would not have yielded if they had had strength sufficient to sustain the war. They demanded leave to go to the Celtiberian camp to procure succor, which if they should not obtain, they would consult their own interest separate from theirs. Gracchus granted their request, and some days after they returned with ten other deputies. They arrived about mid-day, and before they made any other demand of the prætor, desired he would order them some drink. After

^a Some conjecture it to have been the modern *Madrid*.

^b *Cetina*, on the confines of *Aragon* and *Castile*.

drinking one glass, they called for another, while all the company burst into laughter, at their unpoliteness and want of manners. Then the oldest of them said, CHAP. XLVII.

'We are deputed from our nation, to enquire, what sure dependance induced you to make war on us.' Gracchus smartly answered, 'I came hither relying on the valor of my brave troops, which, if you have the curiosity, I will shew you, that you may carry back a certain answer to your countrymen.'

Accordingly he ordered the legionary tribunes to draw up both the horse and foot, and file off under arms before them. After this the deputies departed, and deter'd their countrymen from sending succors to the relief of the town that was invested. The townsmen in vain lighted fires on their turrets at night, which was the signal agreed on. So seeing themselves disappointed of their only hope of assistance, they surrendered at discretion. They were ordered to pay 2400000 sesterces^c, and send 40 of their principal youth, not as hostages, for they were ordered to serve in the war, and yet in reality they were security for their fidelity.

FROM thence he marched to the city of Alce^a, where was the Celtiberian camp from which the late deputation had come. For several days he harassed them by detaching light troops against their advanced guards, who had small rencounters, that by daily increasing their number he might draw them out to a general action. When he saw his stratagem take effect he ordered the præfects of the auxiliaries as soon as they came to blows suddenly to retreat to the camp, as if they had been overpowered by those who pursued them. In the mean time he kept his troops in order of battle within all the gates. He soon saw the enemy precipitately pursuing his detachment, which retired by concert. For this opportunity he waited under arms within his entrenchments. He only tarry'd to give his own men a free retreat within the camp, and then setting up a shout, sally'd out CHAP. XLVIII.

at all the gates at once. The enemy were not able to sustain this unexpected charge, and those who had come with a resolution to force the Roman lines, were not able to defend their own. For being soon put to the rout, they were forced in precipitation to their camp, and then driven out of it. In that action they had 9000 killed, 320 taken prisoners, with 37 standards. The Romans lost only 109 men.

CHAP.
XLIX.

AFTER this victory Gracchus led his legions to lay Celtiberia waste. Having carry'd and driven off all the effects in the country, some of the people from choice, others out of fear received his yoke. Within a few days 103 towns surrendered to him, and he got a vast booty. Then he marched back to Alce, from whence he had come, and resolved to invest it. The inhabitants sustained his first assault. But when they saw it attacked not only sword in hand, but with machines, they despaired of being able to defend it, and retired all together into the citadel. At last they sent deputies who surrendered their persons and effects to the Romans. Here they got a great booty and many noble prisoners, among whom was the two sons and a daughter of Turrus, their king, and by far the most powerful prince in Spain. When he heard of the misfortune of his children, he sent deputies to Gracchus to obtain a safe protection under which he might come to his camp. Accordingly he came, and first asked whether the general would grant him and his children their lives. The prætor answering in the affirmative, he then asked permission to serve in the war under the Romans. Gracchus likewise granted him this. Then, says he, I will follow you against my ancient allies, since they deign not to regard me. From henceforth he accompany'd the Romans, and did them signal service in several places.

CHAP.
L.

THEN Ergavica^a, a noble and strong city, terrify'd at the fate of the neighboring towns, open'd her gates to the prætor. Some authors say, "that

^a It's situation not determin'd.

CHAP. L.

this submission was only a feint, and that they revolted as soon as he had withdrawn his legions out of their neighborhood. That afterwards the prætor fought a bloody battle with these Celtiberians near mount Caunus^b, from day break till noon, wherein many were killed on both sides. All the advantage the Romans had was, that next day they challenged the enemy, who would not quit their lines. So he spent the whole day in gathering the spoils. The third day he fought a bloodier battle, wherein he gained a complete victory over the Celtiberians, whose camp he took and pillaged. In that action he killed 22000, took upwards of 300 prisoners, with about an equal number of horse, and 72 standards. This finally terminated the war, and the Celtiberians made a more sincere submission than they had done before.' It is recorded, that Posthumius the same campaign gained two victories over the Vaccæi in the Further Spain. He killed about 35000 of them, and took their camp. But it is more probable, that he arrived in the province too late to perform such great exploits during that campaign.

CHAP. L.1.

THE censors drew up a list of the senators with great unanimity, and Lepidus the pontifex was nominated prince of it. They degraded only three members, and Lepidus continued several in the list whom his colleague had left out. They divided the sums allowed them and expended them in the following works. Lepidus raised a causeway near Terracina, which brought a reflection upon him, because he had an estate there, and had blended his own interest and the public together. He erected a theatre for plays in the capitol near the temple of Apollo, and ordered the columns round it to be cleaned and whited. He also took down from these columns all the statues, which were ill placed, with the colors and bucklers. But Fulvius employ'd the public money in a greater number of more useful works. He

^b *Moncayo*, on the confines of *Castille* and *Aragon*.

CHAP.

LI.

made a key to Rome and erected the piers of a stone bridge cross the Tiber. But some years after, P. Scipio Asiaticus and L. Mummius in their censorship laid the arches over these piers. He built a fine hall behind the bankers residence, and a fish market, which he surrounded with shops, which he afterwards sold to private persons. He made a market and portico without the gate Trigemina, and also erected porticos over-against the key, near the temple of Hercules, behind that of Hope, near that of Apollo Medicus. Besides the cenfors had a joint fund, with which they proposed to make an aqueduct, and had agreed with undertakers to build the arches of it. But M. Licinius Crassus put a stop to it, and would not suffer it to be carry'd through his ground. They likewise imposed several taxes and imposts, and restored many oratories to the public, which private persons had usurped, and caused them to be set open to all the people in common. They changed the manner of admitting the tribes to the voting places, making them take place according to their ward, and making the persons of rank go first, and every trade enter together.

CHAP.

LII.

ÆMILIUS also moved the senate to grant him money to expend on games at the dedication of temples to Juno queen of the Gods, and Diana, which he had vow'd in the Ligurian war. They allowed him 20000 asses of brass. He dedicated both temples in the circus Flaminius, and exhibited stage plays in that place three successive days after the dedication of that to Juno, and two after that to Diana. The same censor dedicated a temple in the field of Mars to the Sea Gods, which had been vowed eleven years before by L. Æmilius Regillus in a sea fight with Antiochus's admirals. Over the door of it was placed the following inscription: For terminating an important war between two kings, reducing the author of it to reason, and obliging him to make peace, the prætor L. Æmilius Regillus, son of Marcus, was sent to fight this battle.

• battle. Under his auspices, command, good for-
 • tune and conduct, between Ephesus, Samos, and
 • Chios, was the fleet of king Antiochus, on the
 • eleventh day before the calends of January, van-
 • quished, routed, shattered and put to flight. That
 • day 42 ships of war were taken with all their crews.
 • After which fight Antiochus and his kingdom * * *
 • In consideration of this success, the prætor vowed
 • this temple to the Sea Gods.' The same inscription
 was fixed above the gate of Jupiter's temple in the
 capitol.

T W O days after the censors had made up the CHAP.
 list of the senate, the consul Fulvius set out on an ex- LIII.
 pedition against the Ligurians, and marching over
 mountains, valleys and through forests, never passed
 before, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy.
 He not only defeated them in the field, but took their
 camp. 3200 of the enemy, and all that part of Li-
 guria submitted. The consul sent those who sur-
 rendered down into the plains, and posted a strong
 guard on the mountains. He sent an express with
 the news to Rome, where a supplication was ap-
 pointed for three days on account of his success.
 During the supplication the prætors sacrificed 40 large
 victims. The other consul Manlius performed no-
 thing memorable in Liguria. 3000 Gauls passed
 over the Alps into Italy, without offering violence
 to any person, and petitioned the consuls and senate
 to assign them a settlement, where they might live
 quietly under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The
 senate ordered them to quit Italy, and gave Fulvius
 instructions to search after and punish the authors of
 their passing the Alps.

T H I S year also died Philip king of Macedonia, CHAP.
 worn out with old age and grief for the death of his LIV.
 son. He had passed the winter at Demetrias in great
 affliction for his loss and bitter remorse for his own
 cruelty. His other son, whom he saw considered as
 king both by himself and others, increased his uneasi-
 ness. Every body paid their court to Perseus and de-
 spised

CHAP. spised him in his old age ; so that he was quite en-
 LIV. raged to see some expecting his death with impatience,
 and others not even waiting till it arrived. He had
 with him one Antigonus, son of Echerates, named
 so after his uncle Antigonus, who had been Philip's
 tutor. The uncle was a man of royal majesty, and
 had signalized himself in a battle with Cleomenes,
 king of Sparta. To distinguish him from the other
 kings, the Greeks gave him the compellation of
 GUARDIAN. Of all Philip's courtiers none adhered
 faithfully to him but this prince's nephew. However
 this loyal fidelity of his was so far from gaining him
 the friendship of Perfes, that it rendered him his
 mortal enemy. Antigonus, clearly foreseeing the
 danger he would be in if the crown devolved to
 Perfes, waited his opportunity, when he perceived
 the king uneasy in mind and sighing for the loss
 of his son, and sometimes hearken'd attentively to his
 lamentations, and sometimes irritated his resentment
 by urging the temerity of the deed. He often se-
 conded his complaints, and as truth usually furnishes
 matter to trace her by, he endeavored all in his pow-
 er to make an early discovery of the whole murder.
 The most suspected instruments of it were Apelles and
 Philocles, who had been sent as embassadors to
 Rome, from whence they brought letters from Fla-
 minius to Demetrius, which proved fatal to the
 latter. For it was commonly reported at court, that
 those letters were counterfeit, and forged by their
 secretary Xychus, and sealed with a false signet.

CHAP. BUT these were only mere conjectures without
 LV. proof to support them. However it happened, that
 Antigonus meeting Xychus, seized him and carry'd
 him to court, where leaving him under a guard, he
 went in and told the king. ' If it please your ma-
 ' jesty, I imagined by many speeches of yours, that
 ' you had a great anxiety to know the whole truth
 ' relating to your two sons, which of them it was
 ' that plotted the death of the other. Xychus, the
 ' person in the world who can best resolve this
 ' mystery,

‘mystery, is now in your power. As he is luckily brought to the palace, let me intreat your majesty to call him in.’ Being brought into the royal presence, he at first deny’d every thing, but wavered so, and was so inconsistent, that it was probable, the least menace of tortures would bring him to make a full discovery. He relented at the first sight of the racks and rods, and gave an ample detail of the treachery of the embassadors, and the part he himself had acted in it. Persons were immediately dispatched to seize the deputies. They surprized Philocles on the spot; but Apelles, who had been sent to Chærea in pursuit of some person, hearing of the discovery made by Xychus, fled to Italy. As to Philocles, we have no certain account. Some say, that at first he confidently deny’d all, but, when confronted with Xychus, made a full confession. Whilst others say, he expired on the rack, denying all to the last. However this renew’d Philip’s sorrow and grief, and he thought himself the more unhappy in having had sons, as one of them had perished innocently.

CHAP.

LV.

P E R S E S, being informed, that all was discovered, knew his interest was too strong to oblige him to seek safety in flight. He only took care to keep at a distance from the court, resolving, while his father lived, to defend himself against the effects of his violent rage. Philip, seeing it out of his power to execute justice on the person of his son, apply’d himself to the only thing that remained, to prevent him, besides impunity, from reaping the fruits of his villainy. He called Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for bringing this unnatural fratricide to light, and whom he thought the Macedonians would neither be ashamed or repent to have for their king, on account of the recent glory of his uncle Antiochus. He thus addressed him, ‘Since, O Antigonus, such is my unhappy fate, that I ought to wish I were childless, a thing which other parents abhor; I am resolved to bequeath to you a kingdom which I received from your illustrious uncle,

CHAP.

LVI.

CHAP.

LVI.



and which he preserved and enlarged by his bravery, while he proved a faithful guardian to me. You are the only person whom I think worthy of my crown. If I had no body to succede me, I should chuse rather that it was lost and perished, than be enjoy'd by Perfes as the reward of his villainous intrigues. I should think Demetrius raised from the dead and restored to me, if I can leave in his room, you who alone lamented the death of that innocent prince, and my fatal error.' Ever after this speech, he never ceased to heap all kinds of honors upon him in view of all the world. In the absence of Perfes, who was in Thrace, he took a progress round all the cities of Macedonia, recommending him to the principal men; and it is not to be doubted, but, if his life had been prolonged a while, he would have left him in possession of the crown. He set out from Demetrias, and stay'd a considerable time in Theffalopica. On his journey from thence to Amphipolis, he was seized with a violent distemper. However it is certain he was more distempered in mind than in body. Tormented with want of sleep, he imagined the ghost of Demetrius, whom he had innocently murdered, haunted and loaded him with curses; so he died venting execrations against Perfes. Antigonus might have made advantage of this, if he had had immediate intelligence of the king's death. But Calligenes, the physician who attended the king, did not stay for his death, but seeing from the beginning, by the symptoms, that the distemper was mortal, dispatched, according to concert, expresses, that had been laid beforehand on purpose, to Perfes, and concealed his death from all without the palace till his arrival.

CHAP.

LVII.



BY this means Perfes surprized them all unexpectedly and ignorant of the matter, and seized a crown which he had acquired by fratricide. The death of Philip happened very seasonably to give Perfes some respite for preparing forces for a war. For the nation of the Bastarnæ, who had been long solicited

solicited thereto, passed the Ister with a vast body of horse and foot. Antigonus, and Cotto, a nobleman of that nation, had come some time before to advertise Philip of this. Antigonus, against his inclination, had been sent along with Cotto to raise that nation. However receiving uncertain intelligence, near Amphipolis, of the king's death, mar'd their designs. It had been agreed, that Philip should give the Bastarnæ a safe passage through Thrace, and furnish them with provisions. In order to effect this, he had loaded the principal men of that country with presents, upon which they had faithfully engaged to give the Bastarnæ a safe passage. The design was to exterminate the Dardans, and give them their country to settle in. Two advantages were proposed by this. The one was, the extirpation of a people, declared enemies of the Macedonians, who always took advantage of the adversity of their kings: the other, that the Bastarnæ, leaving their wives and children in Dardania, might be sent to ravage Italy. They were to pass through the country of Scordisci, to go to the Adriatic sea and Italy, for there was no other way to lead an army. Philip imagined that the Scordisci would easily grant this, as they differed from the Bastarnæ neither in language nor customs; nay that they would join them when they saw them going to ravage this opulent country. These designs were accommodated to whatever should happen. For in case the Romans should cut the Bastarnæ to pieces, yet it would still be some consolation for this loss, that the Dardans were extirpated, and he should have all that the Bastarnæ left behind them, and the free possession of Dardania. Or in case they should succeed in their expedition, he would have an opportunity of recovering what he had lost in Greece, while the Romans were diverted by the Bastarnian war. This was Philip's plan.

ACCORDINGLY, upon the faith of Antigonus and Cotto, that people began their march very peaceably. But after advice of Philip's death,

CHAP.
LVIII.

CHAP. the Thracians were not so easy to be dealt with, nor
 LVIII. the Bastarnæ content with what they bought, or to
 be kept in their ranks and from straggling. This occasioned violences on both sides, which increasing daily, at length kindled an open war. At last the Thracians, seeing they were not able to sustain the force and numbers of the enemy, left their villages in the plains, and retired to a vast high mountain called Donuca^a. The Bastarnæ intended to have attacked them there, but were surprized, as they were approaching the top, with such a storm, as is reported to have destroy'd the Gauls, when they spoiled the temple of Apollo. They were not only overwhelmed with a terrible rain, thick hail, and thunder and lightening flashing in their eyes, but the lightening struck them on all sides, as if it had been purposely levelled at their bodies, insomuch that not only the common soldiers, but even the officers were killed by it. In consequence they fled with precipitation, and while they run down the precipices without precaution the Thracians fell upon them in their consternation. But they themselves gave out, that the Gods were the authors of their flight, and that the sky had tumbled down upon them. Being thus dispersed by the storm, and the greatest part of them, as if from a shipwreck, had regained their camp half-arm'd, they began to deliberate what course to take. Upon this a great contention arose among them; some declaring for returning home, and others for penetrating into Dardania. About 30000 of them, under the conduct of Elonicus, marched on, while the rest returned the way they came and regained the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, having got possession of the crown, ordered Antigonus to be put to death; and till he should firmly establish himself he sent a deputation to Rome, to renew the ancient alliance, and request the senate to recognize him king. These were the principal events in Macedonia, during this year.

^a A part of mount *Hæmus*.

ONE of the consuls Fulvius triumphed for the CHAP.
Ligurians. It is certain that this honor was granted LIX.
him more out of favor, than that he merited it by
great exploits. In the procession were carried vast
quantities of arms taken from the enemy, but no mo-
ney. However he distributed 300 asses of brads to
each foot soldier, twice that sum to the centurions,
and thrice as much to a knight. The most remarka-
ble circumstance of his triumph was, that it happen-
ed on the same day on which he had that honor the
year before when pro-prætor. After the triumph he
appointed the tribes to assemble for the election of
consuls, and they conferred the fasces on M. Junius
Brutus and A. Manlius Vulso. Then the election of
prætors came on, but was interrupted by a storm, so
that three were only chosen that day. The next day,
which was the eleventh of March, other three were
chosen, M. Titinius Curvus, T. Claudius Nero,
and T. Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were
exhibited a second time, on account of some prodi-
gies that had happened by the curule ædiles, Cn. Ser-
vilius Cæpio, and Ap. Claudius Centho. A lecti-
sternium was spread in the public forum, where an
earthquake had happened. The Gods who lay in
state at that procession turned away their heads of
their own accord, and the wall and carpets before
Jupiter fell down. It was also taken for a prodigy
that mice had tasted of the olives at the table. No
other expiation was used for these except renewing
the games.

B O O K XLI.

The fire in the temple of Vesta goes out. The pro-consul Tib. Gracchus vanquishes the Celtiberians, and receives their submission. As a monument of his exploits he builds Gracchuris in Spain. The pro-consul Aibinus also reduces the Vaccæi and Lusitanians. Both these generals triumph. Antiochus, son of Antiochus the Great, who gave him as an hostage to the Romans, is sent to Syria on the death of

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of his brother Seleucus, who had succeeded to his father's crown. A lustrum closed by the censors, and the number of citizens registered amounts to 273244. 2. Voconius Saxa, a plebeian tribune, got a law passed against making women heirs to estates. M. Cato supports the bill, and his speech on that occasion is still extant. Besides this book contains the successes of different generals against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians and Celtiberians, and the rise of the Macedonian war, which Perseus the son of Philip meditated. For he sent ambassadors to Carthage, where they had an audience in the night, and also solicited several states in Greece. Bating a regard for religion (for he built several august temples in different places, particularly one to Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and another to Jupiter Capitolinus at Antioch) Perseus was a despicable prince.

CHAP.

I.

M. Junius
Brutus and
A. Manlius
Vulso con-
suls.

Y. of R. 574.

B. J. C. 178.

IN the beginning of the year the consuls and prætors having entered upon their magistracies, drew lots for their provinces. Vulso got Gaul, and Brutus Liguria. Of the prætors, Curvus got the jurisdiction over citizens; Nero, that over foreigners; Ligus, Sicily; Carus, Sardinia; M. Titinius Hither, and Capito Further Spain. Gracchus and Sempronius were continued in the command of these latter provinces, till the arrival of the new prætors. Before the prætors set out for their provinces, a fire made terrible havoc about the forum, and among other ædifices, the temple of Vesta was burnt to the ground. But what terrified men most, was letting out the sacred fire of Vesta. The virgin who tended it was scourged with rods by order of Lepidus the pontifex maximus, who would not allow her to be punished with death. The usual supplications were appointed for expiating these prodigies, and the consuls offered the larger sacrifices to appease the wrath of the Gods. After this the censors M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior closed the lustrum. The number of registered citizens amounted to 273244. About the same time the pro-prætor Gracchus vigorously prosecuted the plan he had so happily entered upon during the preceding year against the Celtiberians. He was yet in the flower of youth, and possessing a greater share of prudence and application than men commonly do at that age, not only conceived hopes himself of performing great exploits, but inspired the troops with the same expectation. In consequence, hearing that the enemy, to the number of 20000, had besieged Carabis^b, a city in alliance with the Romans, he lost no time but flew to it's relief. These allies were so closely invested, that it was believed it was impossible to communicate the news of this succor to them. However an undaunted hero, one Cominius, undertook this difficult enterprize. He was a captain of horse, and putting on a Spanish habit, joined the enemies foragers. With them he entered their camp, and from thence got into the town, where he in-

^a The chasms in this and the following books supplied by Dujatius, all put in this character.

^b Unknown.

formed the inhabitants of the prætor's approach. They were quite in despair, but this news so raised their spirits and courage, that fortified against all the insults of the enemy, they, by a brave defence, gave Gracchus time to come up and raise the siege. In the mean time the enemy, seeing open force did not succeed, had recourse to stratagem, by which they alarmed the Roman camp. Great numbers of people had flocked from the cities which Cato had dismantled in one day, to a new city to which they gave the name of Complega. About 20000 of these people came out, with the appearance of suppliants, carrying olive branches in their hands, and halted in view of the Roman camp, seeming to beg peace. But all of a sudden they threw down those badges of suppliants, and brandishing their swords, assaulted the camp with a terrible shout. Their sudden attack and horrible cries spread terror in all quarters of it. However Gracchus eluded, nay retorted the enemy's stratagem by another artifice. He feigned flight, and quitted his camp, but returned and charged the enemy busied in rising it. He not only killed a great number of them, but even took the town from whence they came. Then he made a good use of his victory, for he forced many cities, exhausted with the calamities of war, to submit, and reduced all the neighboring nations. Then distributing lands to those that wanted them, and assigning settlements to each people, he made a treaty with all the Celtiberians, and the neighboring nations who joined them. By this means he brought a very considerable part of Spain into an alliance with the Romans. The regulations of this league were observed as laws by posterity. Hence it is not surprizing to find Polybius say, that Gracchus took or demolished 300 towns belonging to the Celtiberians. Posidonius thinks that this was exaggerating the truth in favor of Gracchus, as so small and barren a country could not contain so great a number of cities: besides the Spaniards themselves, if you except those who dwell on our coasts, though they abound in number, build and inhabit villages rather than cities, and many of them live wild in the woods, infesting all the circumjacent country. But all the neighboring nations, who had sided with the Celtiberians, were comprehended in this treaty; on the one side the Arevaci, Carpetani, Oretani, and other people living on the banks of the Tagus; on the other side, near the Ebro, the Vascones, in whose country he built Gracchuris, as a perpetual monument of his valor and exploits. Before the Spaniards called this city Illurcis. During the same campaign Albinus, prætor of the Further Spain, routed the enemy, and having killed 40,000 of them, reduced the Vaccæi and Lusitanians. In the mean time the consul Manlius, who had Gaul for his province, finding it in perfect tranquillity, and nothing on either side of the Po on which to found a claim for a triumph, if he did not pass the Alps, had a strong desire to penetrate beyond that barrier. Seasonably for this purpose the Istrians and Illyrians ran to arms, though their incursions

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I.

incursions upon the lands of the allies, both by sea and land, had more the appearance of robberies than a regular war. These nations, which were accustomed to robbing, were weary of continuing in quiet. They had both before felt the Roman arms. The Illyrians first had been often defeated by them, even as long since as the days of Teuta their queen, whom the consuls Centumalus and Albinus, after having with a fleet and land army taken part of her dominions, had forced to sue for a peace on dishonorable terms, some years before the second Punic war broke out. Not long after them, that is 43 years before the present time, the Istrians were vanquished by the consuls Asina and Rufus, and for the most part subdued. But afterwards their courage increasing in proportion as their numbers did, they returned to their former course. Besides their two kings were so far from restraining the outrages of their subjects, that they encouraged and spirited them on. Gentius, son of Pleuratus, was then prince of the Illyrians. This impetuous youth] armed his nation which he had received in tranquillity from his father. It is said, this exceedingly endeared him to his subjects, who were greedy of spoil. When the consul was deliberating with his council about making war on this prince, some declared, it should be entered upon immediately, without giving the enemy time to draw their forces together; and others were of opinion, that he should first ask the advice of the senate. However the former carried it. Accordingly the consul left Aquileia, and encamped at the lake Timavus^c, which lyes near the sea. Thither also came the Roman admiral C. Furius with ten ships. He and L. Cornelius had been appointed to cruise in the Adriatic sea with twenty ships of war. Their station was Ancona, and Cornelius cruised from thence to the right as far as Tarentum, and Furius to the left as far as Aquileia. The latter's fleet were sent to the port nearest the confines of Istria with the store ships and a great quantity of provisions. The consul followed with the legions, and encamped 15 miles from the sea. Within a short time there was a great resort of traders to the port, and it supplied the camp with all manner of provisions. That this might be done with the greater safety, advanced guards were posted all round the camp, and on the side of

^c *Timavo*, a river of *Carniola*, falls into the *Adriatic* sea.

Istria was a constant guard, consisting of a cohort of Placentines raised in haste, posted between the camp and the sea. That it might likewise serve for a guard to those who brought water from the river, M. Æbutius, tribune of the second legion, was ordered to join it with two companies. To guard the detachments that brought forage and wood, T. and C. Ælii were ordered out on the road to Aquileia with the third legion. On the same side, at the distance of a mile, were above 3000 Gauls encamped under the command of a petty prince named Carmelus.

AS soon as the Istrians saw the Romans encamp CHAP. II.
 at Timavus, they posted themselves privately behind a hill; and from thence followed all the motions of the Roman army by cross ways, watching all occasions to fall on them; and in truth they had exact intelligence of all that passed both by sea and land. When they perceived the advanced guards weak, and great numbers of them trafficking without their arms between the camp and the sea, without any escort from either, they at the same time attacked both the Placentine cohort, and the two companies of the second legion. The morning fog covered them in this enterprize: but it being dispersed by the first rays of the sun, a kind of gloom remained, which, as usual, magnifying the objects, deceived the Romans, who imagined the enemy were much more numerous than they really were. This terrified both guards so much, that they fled with great precipitation to the camp, causing as great consternation there as that which they were in themselves. For the fright had taken away their breath, and they could neither tell why they fled, nor answer any question that was put to them: besides a great noise was heard at the gates, as if there had been no guards there to sustain the assault; and their falling over one another in the dark, occasioned so great confusion, that they knew not whether the enemy were not already in their camp. No other cry was heard, but, TO SEA. Some single person rashly calling out this word, in a moment

CHAP. II. moment it rung through the whole camp. As if it had been the signal for departure, at first a few soldiers, mostly without arms, ran towards the port; then a greater number, and at last all the troops; nay, the consul himself, after having in vain used his utmost efforts to restrain their flight; for neither his orders, authority, nor entreaties, had any effect at last. None stay'd but M. Licinius Strabo, tribune of the third legion, who was left with only three companies. The Istrians, entering the camp which was in a manner quite empty, march'd on without meeting any body till they came to the general's quarters. There they fell upon this brave officer with his little corps, as he was animating and forming them. However the battle was more bloody than could have been expected from so small a number, nor did it end till the tribune with all his soldiers were cut to pieces. After throwing down the general's tent, and rifling what was in it, the enemy proceeded to the street which separated the officers quarters from those of the common soldiers, and the quæstor's tent. Finding all kinds of provisions ready on the tables, and the beds spread, their king sat down to table, and began to feast. The rest, forgetting arms and the enemy, soon followed his example, and as they were not accustomed to so good cheer, or in such plenty, they greedily glutted themselves with victuals and wine.

CHAP. III. THE Romans were then in a very different situation. They were in a consternation both by sea and land. The marines struck their tents, and hurried the provisions they had on the shore aboard the ships. The land soldiers in great terror threw themselves into boats, and endeavored to get to sea. The sailors, apprehending their boats would be overladen, endeavored some to keep off the multitude, and others put off from the shore and stood out to sea. This occasioned a scuffle, which did not end without wounds and bloodshed, between the soldiers and sailors; till at length, by order of the consul, the whole fleet stood

stood out to sea. Then he proceeded to separate the armed from the unarmed. Of so great an army he scarce found 1500 men that had arms, and few of the knights had brought their horses with them, all the rest were a deformed multitude, like sutlers and servants, and would certainly have fallen a prey, if the enemy had had any skill in making war. Then he dispatched an aid du camp to recal the third legion and the guard of Gauls. Then they began to move from all quarters to regain their camp and wipe off their disgrace. The tribunes of the third legion, ordered the men to throw down the forage and wood, and the centurions to mount all the oldest men two and two on the baggage horses, and the knights to take each a young soldier behind him. They represented to them, 'that it would be glorious for their legion to try by their valor to recover that camp, which the second legion had lost by their cowardice. It would be an easy enterprize, if they surprized the barbarians busy'd in rifling it. It might be retaken in the same manner it had been taken.' The soldiers heard this exhortation with great alacrity. The ensigns moved on apace, neither did the soldiers lag behind them. However the consul, with the troops he had brought back from the port, arrived at the camp first. L. Arius, first tribune of the second legion, not only exhorted, but remonstrated to the soldiers, 'that if the victorious Istrians had intended to keep the camp with the same arms by which they had taken it, they would have pursued them to the port as soon as they were masters of it, and then posted guards before the trenches. But it was more probable they lay overwhelmed with wine and sleep.'

IMMEDIATELY he ordered A. Bæculonius, his own ensign bearer, a man of approved valor, to advance. He answered, that to forward the matter he would throw his ensign as far as the enemy, if they would only follow it. With that he apply'd his whole strength, and throwing it over the lines, was

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was the first who entered the gate. T. and C. Ælii, tribunes of the third legion, arrived with their cavalry on the opposite side; and soon after those who followed on the carriage beasts, and after them the consul with his whole army. The few Istrians who were not drunk took care to fly. The rest were put to the sword asleep. The Romans recovered every thing that belonged to them safe, except the meat and drink that had been consumed. Even the sick soldiers, who had been left in the camp, no sooner perceived their companions within the lines, than they ran to their swords and made a great slaughter. But C. Popilius Sabello, a knight, distinguished himself in particular. Being wounded in the foot and left behind, he killed by far the greatest number of enemies. About 8000 enemies were killed, but none taken prisoners; for the Romans were so full of rage and resentment, that they did not think of booty. However the Istrian king made his escape, being taken by his men from table half drunk and mounted on a horse. The victors lost 237, a greater part of whom perished in the flight in the morning, than in recovering their camp.

CHAP.

V.



IT happened by accident, that Cn. and L. Gavilii, two new planters of Aquileia, coming from thence with provisions, and ignorant of what had happened, had almost fallen into the hands of the Istrians, while in the Roman camp. However, they left their loads, and flying back spread the alarm not only at Aquileia, but in a few days at Rome, where it was reported, not only that the camp was taken after the troops had deserted it, which was true, but that the whole army was destroy'd. In consequence, as usual on such alarms, levies were appointed to be made at Rome and all over Italy. Two Roman legions were raised, and they obtain'd 12000 Latin foot with 500 horse. The consul Junius was ordered to go into Gaul, and obtain as many troops from each of the states of that province, as they could furnish. A decree was also passed, ' that the prætor Nero should

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order the fourth legion 4000 Latin foot with 250 horse to rendezvous at Pisa, with which he should guard that province in the consul's absence ; and that the prætor M. Titinius should order the first legion with an equal number of Latin foot and horse to assemble at Ariminum.' Accordingly Nero set out in his warlike habiliments for the province of Pisa. Titinius, having detached C. Cassius a legionary tribune to command the troops at Ariminum, stay'd at Rome to make the levies. The consul Junius, having gone from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and having immediately procured auxiliaries from these states and the colonies, went to Aquileia. There being informed that the army was safe, he wrote to Rome to lay aside their fears, and having dismissed the Gaulic auxiliaries, went and joined his colleague. This unexpected news gave great joy at Rome, where they immediately laid aside the levies. Such as had taken the military oath were acquitted of it, and the army at Ariminum, which began to be afflicted with the plague, was sent home. The Istrians, who were encamped near the consul with numerous forces, slipped away each to his own city, as soon as they heard that the other consul was arrived with a new army. The consuls led their troops into winter quarters at Aquileia.

THE alarm about the Istrian war having subsided, the senate ordered the consuls to agree between themselves which of them should come to Rome and preside at the elections. A. Licinius Nerva and C. Papirius Turdus, two plebeian tribunes, inveighed bitterly in their speeches against Manlius in his absence. The consuls had already been appointed to continue in their command another year, but these tribunes proposed a bill to the people for denying Manlius that honor, and for bringing him to his trial as soon as he quitted his office. Their colleague Q. Ælius interposed, and with hard struggling prevailed to have the bill thrown out. About the same time Gracchus and Albinus returned from Spain.

CHAP. VI. The prætor M. Titinius appointed the senate to meet in the temple of Bellona, to hear the detail of their exploits, and give them an opportunity to demand the honors due to them, and that thanks should be returned to the Gods. The prætor T. Æbutius also about that time sent his son with letters to inform the senate of a great insurrection in Sardinia. The Ilians, in conjunction with the Balares^a, had disturbed the tranquillity of the province, and that he was not able to make head against them, his army having been extremely weakened by the plague. The Sardinian deputies brought the same account, conjuring the senate at least to send relief to their towns, for their lands were already miserably ruined. This deputation, and every thing relating to Sardinia, was refer'd to the new magistrates. A deputation also arrived from the Lycians, with as lamentable complaints of the cruelty of the Rhodians, under whose dominion they had been put by L. Scipio. They said, ' they had been subject to Antiochus ; but the
' yoke of that monarch was glorious liberty in com-
' parison of their present oppressions. Not only
' their whole nation was oppressed, but individuals
' suffered the severest hardships. Their lawful wives
' and daughters were abused. All kinds of severity
' were exercised on their persons, and, what was
' still more intolerable, their reputations blasted and
' defamed. These outrages were openly commit-
' ted, and an appearance of justice preserved in the
' usurpation they had made upon them. Nay, in
' truth, that there was no difference between them
' and slaves purchased with money.' This speech moved the fathers, who gave the Lycians letters to the Rhodians: ' When they put the Lycians under
' subjection to the Rhodians, they did not intend to
' make them their slaves, or that any other free-born
' persons should be enslaved by any one ; but while
' the Lycians were under the jurisdiction and pro-
' tection of the Rhodians, they were equally allies
' of and subject to Rome.'

^a Near *Valeria*.

THEN the two prætors from Spain triumphed one after another ; Gracchus for the Celtiberians and their allies, and Albinus for the Lusitanians and other people of the Further province. In the procession of the former were carried 40000 pound weight of silver, and in that of the latter 20000. They both gave 25 denarii to each foot soldier, double to a centurion, and triple to a knight, and as much to the allies as to Roman citizens. About the same time the consul Junius returned from Istria to preside in the comitia. The tribunes Papirius and Licinius, after teasing him with questions about the events in Istria, at last brought him before an assembly of the people. He answered, that he had been only eleven days in that province, and they themselves had heard by report, as well as he, what had happened in his absence. Then they proceeded to ask, ‘ Why does not Manlius rather come to the city, to give the Roman people his reasons for quitting his proper province Gaul, which fell to him by lot, and entering Istria? When did the senate or Roman people give him commission to make that war? But how! This war, which was undertaken by the advice of private men, has been prosecuted with courage and prudence! Alas! it is hard to determine whether it was undertaken more irregularly, or more imprudently carried on. Two of our advanced guards were surprized by the enemy, and the Roman camp, with all the horse and foot in it, taken. All the rest without arms were routed, and, in particular, the consul fled to the sea and their ships. Since he has refused to justify his conduct when consul, he shall when a private person.’

AFTER this the elections were held, and C. Claudius Pulcher and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day P. Ælius Tubero a second time, C. Quinctius Flamininus, C. Numisius, C. Mummius, Cn. Corn. Scipio and P. Valerius Lævinus were elected prætors. Tubero got the

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C. Claud.
Pulcher and
T. Semp.
Gracchus,
consuls.
Y. of R. 575.
B. J. C. 177.

jurisdiction over citizens ; Flamininus that over foreigners ; Numisius, Sicily ; and Mummius, Sardinia : but the latter, on account of the powerful insurrection in it, was made a consular province. Gracchus got it by lot, and Pulcher got Istria. Gaul was divided into two provinces for which Scipio and Lævinus drew lots. On the 15th of March, when the consuls entered on their provinces, mention was only made in the senate of the provinces of Sardinia and Istria, and the people who had kindled the war there. But next the Sardinian deputies, whose cause had been refer'd to the new magistrates, and L. Minucius Thermus, who had served as lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, had audience of the senate. They informed the senate, how dangerous the war in these provinces were. The senate also was moved by deputies from their allies the Latins, who after having teased the consuls and censors of the former year, at length obtained an audience. The sum of their complaints was, ' that
' their citizens that had been enrolled at Rome had
' most of them removed to reside there. If this was
' suffered, in a few more lustra their cities would
' be abandoned, their lands become desert, and they
' would not be able to furnish their contingent of
' troops.' The Samnites and Peligni complain'd,
' that 4000 of their families had removed to Fre-
' gellæ, and yet the quota of troops to be furnished
' by them was not lessened.' People had fallen on two fraudulent expedients thus to change their residence at pleasure. By a law privilege was granted to such Latins as should leave their children at home, to come and be admitted denizens of Rome. By abusing this indulgence some injured the allies and others the Romans. For those who accepted it, instead of leaving their children at home, sold them for slaves to certain Romans in whom they could confide, on condition that they should be made free, and so become enfranchised citizens : And those who had no children to leave behind them came and set-
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bled at Rome. But in process of time, without regard to law or children, they removed to Rome, and got themselves enrolled there. To prevent this for the future, the deputies petitioned the fathers, 'to oblige these allies to return to their states, and make a law, that none should under any pretext change his residence, or make over himself or children to others; and that whoever should by these fraudulent methods obtain the freedom of Rome, should not be counted a Roman citizen.'

THE senate granted their request. Then Istria and Sardinia, the seats of the war, were appointed to be the consular provinces. For Sardinia, orders were given to levy two Roman legions, consisting each of 5200 foot and 300 horse, with 12000 foot and 600 horse from the Latins; besides ten quinqueremes, to be taken out of what docks the consul pleased. The same number of horse and foot were appointed for Istria. The consuls were ordered to send one legion and 300 horse, with 5000 foot and 250 horse belonging to the allies to Titinius in Spain. Before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, reports spread of many prodigies. In the territory of Crustumium, a stone fell from the heavens into the lake of Mars. A snake with four feet appeared: At Capua many houses were struck with lightening, which also set two ships on fire at Puteoli: Besides, during these reports, a wolf being hunted into Rome, entered at the Colline gate, and, pursued by a vast mob of people, escaped safe out at the Esquiline. To expiate these prodigies, the consuls offered the larger sacrifices, and ordered a solemn procession to all the shrines for one day. When the sacrifices were completed, the consuls drew lots for their provinces; Pulcher got Istria and Gracchus Sardinia. After that the former published a decree of the senate in favor of the allies, 'that all the Latins with their parents, who had been enrolled in the census at Rome since the censorship of M. Claudius and T. Quinctius, should return to their own cities, before the first

CHAP. IX.

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day

‘ day of November.’ The prætor Mummius was ordered to enquire after those who should not comply with this decree. To this edict and law published by the consul, the senate added the following decree: ‘ that every dictator, consul, interrex, censor or prætor, ‘ who should be present at the manumissions in the forum, should oblige the person who presented the ‘ slave to be made free, to swear that he had no intention of taking any citizen from his own state. And ‘ that they should not allow any one who should refuse ‘ this oath, to enfranchise his slave.’ The execution of this decree was afterwards committed to the consul Pulcher.

CHAP.

X.



WHILE these things passed at Rome, M. Junius and A. Albinus, consuls of the preceding year, who had wintered at Aquileia, entered the Istrian territories with their army early in the spring. While they spread fire and sword every where, the Istrians ran to arms rather through motives of grief and rage, to see their lands thus spoiled, than from any hopes of being strong enough to cope with them. All the youth of their country assembled, and this rash and tumultuary army made a vigorous push at first, but did not follow it out. About 4000 of them were killed, and the rest quitting the field, dispersed into their own cities. They first sent deputies to the Roman camp to beg a peace, and then hostages, as they were ordered. When this news reached Rome by letters from the proconsuls, the consul Claudius, apprehending that this affair might deprive him of his province and the command of an army, left the city in the night without having made the usual vows, without the military robe or lictors, apprizing only his colleague, which was his duty, and rode post to Istria. If his journey was rash and precipitate, his behavior in his province was still more indiscreet. Having assembled the army, he in the first place upbraided Manlius with his cowardly flight from his camp, which severely mortify'd the troops who had fled first. Then he reproached Junius with making him-
self



self an accomplice in his colleague's disgraceful conduct, and concluded with ordering them both to quit the province. The soldiers answering, that they would acknowledge his authority as consul when he set out for his province according to ancient custom, after having made the solemn vows in the capitol, dressed in his military robe and attended by his lictors, he was transported with fury, and calling for Manlius's quæstor, ordered him to bring chains, threatening to send both the generals bound to Rome. The quæstor shewed no regard to his orders, and, surrounded by the whole army who avowedly took part with their commanders and shewed their ill-will to the consul, took courage to disobey him. At last the consul, weary'd with their opposition, and not able to bear the raillery, not only of individuals, but of the whole army, returned to Aquileia, on board the same vessel in which he came. Then he wrote to his colleague to order that part of the new levies, which were appointed for Istria, to come to Aquileia, in order that when he should arrive at Rome and have made the usual vows in the capitol, nothing might detain him there. His colleague comply'd, and very obligingly appointed them to repair thither within as short a day as possible. Claudius followed his letters directly. On his arrival he informed an assembly of the people of what had passed between him and the two proconsuls, and staying but three days to perform the usual vows, he set out in his military robe, attended by his lictors, making as much expedition in his second journey as he had done in the first.



THE proconsuls had already for some days attacked the city of Nesattium^a, in which the chief lords of Istria, with their King Epulo, had shut themselves up. But Claudius arriving with the new legions dismissed the old generals and army, and invested the place himself, intending to take it by his machines. He spent several days in turning the

^a On the east part of *Istria*, where now stands *Castel Nuova*.

CHAP.
XI.

course of a river, which running close under the walls, prevented his attacks and supply'd the besiegers with water. The cutting off the water, as if it had been a miracle, so terrify'd the barbarians, that forgetting all thoughts of peace, they fell to massacring their wives and children; and that the enemy might be spectators of this horrid scene, they openly cut their throats on the walls, and then threw the dead bodies over. In midst the screams of women and children and this dreadful execution the Romans scaled the walls and entered the town. As soon as the king perceived by the alarm of those who fled, that the enemy were masters of it, he fell upon his sword, to prevent his being taken alive. The rest were all either taken or killed. Then the consul took by storm two other cities, Mutila and Faveria^b. Considering the poverty of the country, the booty exceeded their expectations, and was all granted to the soldiers. 5632 prisoners were sold by auction. The authors of the war were scourged and beheaded. The taking these three towns and the death of their king restored tranquillity to Istria, all the people of which submitted and gave hostages for their fidelity. As the Istrian war was ended, the Ligurians begun to deliberate about taking up arms.

CHAP.
XII.

THE proconsul Nero, prætor of the preceding year, had been sent to command one legion at Pisa. He sent letters to inform the senate of their motions. As Gracchus had departed for Sardinia, the fathers ordered these letters to be sent to the consul Claudius, with orders, since he had nothing to do in Istria, to march against the Ligurians, if he should think it proper. At the same time his account of his success in Istria arriving, a supplication was appointed for three days. The other consul Gracchus was victorious in Sardinia. He led his army into the territories of the Ilians, to whom the Balares had sent a very numerous reinforcement. He fought a pitched battle

^b The situation of both unknown.

with them, routed them, and took their camp, after killing 12000 on the spot. Next day he gathered together the arms in a heap, and burnt them as a sacrifice to Vulcan. After that he put his victorious troops into winter quarters among the allies. The consul Claudius, having received Nero's letters with the senate's orders left Istria, and marched against the Ligurians. The enemy were encamped in a plain near the river Scultenna*. There they fought a pitched battle, wherein they lost 15000 men, besides above 700 taken prisoners in the battle or in the camp, which was also taken with 51 standards. The rest fled to the mountains, and the consul without seeing any enemy ravaged the champaign country. Claudius being thus victorious over two nations in one year, returned to Rome, leaving two provinces in tranquillity, a thing which had seldom happened.

THIS year was full of prodigies. In Crustumini-
 num, a foul called sangualis^b peck'd a hole in a sacred
 stone with it's bill : In Campania an ox spoke : At
 Syracuse a bull, who had stray'd from the herd in the
 field, leapt a brazen statue of a cow in the city. At
 Crustuminum the prodigy was expiated by a suppli-
 cation in the same place. The ox that spoke at
 Campania was kept at the public charge. The ha-
 ruspices ordered supplications to particular Gods to
 expiate the prodigy at Syracuse. The pontifex M.
 Claud. Marcellus, who had been both consul and
 censor, died this year. His son was chosen to succede
 him. The same year a colony of 2000 Romans was
 settled at Luna, by P. Ælius, L. Egilius and Cn.
 Sicinius. Each planter had $50\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, which
 had been taken from the Ligurians, but had formerly
 belonged to the Hetrurians. The consul Claudius
 arrived at Rome, and having given the senate a de-
 tail of his exploits in Istria and Liguria, they granted
 him a triumph on his request. He triumphed during

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XIII.

* Now *Panaro*, dividing the territories of *Bologna* and *Modena*, and then falling into the *Po*.

^b Less than an eagle and of a brown color.

his

his magistracy for two nations at once. In the procession were carry'd 307000 denarii, with 85702 half denarii. He gave each foot soldier 15 denarii, double to a centurion, and triple to a knight. But he gave the allies only half in proportion, for which reason they followed his chariot silent and discontented.

CHAP. XIV. DURING this solemnity, the Ligurians, seeing the consular army led to Rome, and the legion under Claudius at Pisa disbanded, shook off all fear, and appointing their army to rendezvous privately, passed the mountains by bye ways, and falling down upon the champaign country, ravaged the lands of Modena, and surprized the colony itself. As soon as this news reached Rome the senate ordered Claudius to hold the comitia as soon as possible, and when they were over to return to the province, and retake the colony. The order was quickly obeyed, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio and Q. Petillius Spurius were chosen consuls. Then M. Popillius Lænas, P. Licinius Crassus, M. Cornelius Scipio, L. Papirius Maso, M. Aburius, and L. Aquilius Gallus, were elected prætors. Claudius was continued in command of the province of Gaul for another year, and was ordered, to prevent the Istrians from following the precedent set them by the Ligurians, and to send into that country the Latins whom he had withdrawn for the sake of attending his triumph. The new consuls entered upon their office, and each sacrificed an ox to Jupiter on the first day, according to custom. No liver was found in Petillius's victim, which when he reported to the senate they ordered him to repeat the sacrifice. After this the senate was moved to determine the consular provinces, and they appointed Pisa and Liguria, ordering him, to whose lot Pisa should fall, to return to Rome to hold the elections. They added another decree, empowering them to levy two new legions and 300 horse, with 10000 foot and 600 horse from the Latins. Nero was continued in command till the consul should arrive at Pisa.

WHILE the senate was employ'd in these deliberations, Cn. Cornelius was called out of the house by

Cn. Corn.
Scipio and
Q. Petillius,
consuls.
Y. of R. 576.
B. J. C. 176.

by a public messenger. Soon after he returned with CHAP.
confusion in his face, and told the fathers, that when XV.
the bowels of the victim he had sacrificed were boil'd,
the liver had turned to water : that not believing the
sacrificer who told him so, he had ordered the water
to be poured out of the pot, where he saw the other
intrails whole and sound, but the liver consumed in
an incredible manner. The fathers were exceedingly
terrified at this prodigy, when the other consul in-
formed them that having sacrificed three oxen suc-
cessively, the livers of them all wanted the head.
Upon this the senate ordered him to multiply the
larger sacrifices till the Gods were appeased. It is said
all the other deities, except the Goddess *Salus*, declar-
ed themselves favorable to Petillius. Cornelius got Pisa,
and Petillius Liguria by lot. Of the prætors, Maso
got the jurisdiction over citizens ; Aburius, that over
foreigners ; Scipio, Further Spain ; and Gallus, Si-
cily. The other two petitioned not to be sent into
any province, and in particular Lænas against going
to Sardinia ; because the senate had sent Gracchus,
with Æbutius as his assistant, to restore the tranquil-
lity of that province : neither was it good to interrupt
designs once set on foot, the salutary effects whereof
depended on perseverance in the execution. For be-
tween the former prætor's delivering up the province,
and it's being received by the new, who must first be
instructed in the state of it, before he can execute any
thing, opportunities of performing excellent services
are frequently lost. Popillius's excuse was sustained.
Crassus pleaded his being under an obligation to per-
form some annual sacrifices. Hither Spain had fallen
to his lot, and he was ordered either to repair to it,
or take his oath before the assembly, that he was ne-
cessarily detained for the performance of these sacri-
fices. This resolution in regard to Crassus, made
Scipio request that they would allow him to take his
oath, that he could not for the same reason go to his
province of Farther Spain. Both prætors took the
same oath. In consequence M. Titinius and T. Fon-
teius

teius were ordered to continue there in quality of pro-consuls, and to recruit their armies the senate sent 3000 Roman foot and 200 horse, with 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry belonging to the Latins.

CHAP.

XVI.

THE *feriæ latinæ* were celebrated before the 5th of May. But it was looked on as ominous, that in sacrificing one of the victims, the magistrate of Lanuvium had omitted in the prayer, ‘for the prosperity of the Roman people.’ This affair was laid before the senate, who refer’d it to the college of priests, who ordered that for that defect the festival should be repeated, and that the Lanuvians, who had been the occasion of it, should furnish the victims. Another incident was looked on as ominous: the consul Cornelius, on his return from the Alban mount, fell down in an apoplectic fit, and being seized with a palsy, went to the baths at Cumæ, where the disease increasing he soon died. His corps was brought to Rome, and buried in great state. His colleague, Petillius, was ordered to call an assembly, to elect another in his room, as soon as the auspices would permit, and to publish the celebration of the *feriæ latinæ*. He appointed the comitia to meet on the 3d of August, and the festival on the 11th. Besides, the prodigies reported immediately after filled men’s minds with superstitious fears. At Tusculum a great flame had been seen in the sky: at Gabii the temple of Apollo with many private houses, and at Gravisçæ the town wall and one of the gates were struck with lightning. The fathers ordered the priests to expiate these in what manner they pleased. While necessary acts of religion detained both consuls, and then the death of one, the new election, and renewing the *feriæ latinæ*, detained the other, C. Claudius led his army to Modena, which the Ligurians had taken in the preceding year. He had not been before it three days, when he drove out the enemy, and restored it to it’s own inhabitants. He killed 8000 of the enemy within the walls, and immediately dispatched letters to Rome, wherein he

not

not only gave an account of the victory, but boasted that he had not left the Romans an enemy on this side the Alps, and that he had taken as much land, as might be distributed to many thousand planters.

ABOUT the same time Gracchus by several successful battles quite reduced the Sardinians. He killed 15000 of them. All the people of that island which had revolted, returned to their obedience, and had double the former tribute imposed on them; the rest paid the usual tribute of corn. Having established the tranquillity of the province, and received 230 hostages from the states of the island in general, he sent messengers to Rome, to give an account of his exploits, and to demand that thanks should be returned to the immortal Gods for his success, and that leave might be granted him to bring back his army when he left the province. The fathers gave these messengers audience in the temple of Apollo, and appointed a supplication for two days, ordering the consuls to offer the larger sacrifices. They likewise continued Gracchus in his province and command of the troops for another year. Then the election of another consul, which had been appointed to be held before the 3d of August, came on, and ended the same day. Petillius got for his colleague M. Valerius Lævinus, who entered on his office immediately. The latter longed impatiently for a province to act in, when very seasonably for his gratification advice arrived that the Ligurians were in arms. As soon as he heard the letters, he dressed himself in his military robe on the 5th of August, and taking the opportunity of the present alarm, ordered the third legion to set out to join C. Claudius in Gaul. He also ordered the two admirals to sail with their fleet to Pisa, from whence they were to appear on the coast of Liguria to terrify the enemy with a descent. The consul Petillius likewise fixed a day for his army to rendezvous at the same place. The pro-consul Claudius, hearing of the recent rebellion, collected soldiers in haste, besides the troops he had at Parma, and marched to the confines of Liguria.

CHAP.
XVII.

M. Val.
Lævinus
consul.

THE

THE enemy, upon the arrival of Claudius, who they remembered had lately defeated them at the river Scultenna, intending to defend themselves rather by advantageous posts than force of arms against that power which they had tried to their cost, seized the two mounts Letum and Balista, round which they threw a trench. However 1500 of them, who lag'd in the retreat, were surprized and cut to pieces. The rest kept upon the mountains, and not even forgetting their natural ferocity in their present dread, vented their fury on the prisoners they took at Modena, whom they massacred to a man; nay, brought the cattle they had driven off into their temples, where, more properly speaking, they butchered rather than sacrificed them to their Gods. Being thus satiated with blood of animals, they hung up on their walls every inanimate thing they had, viz. great quantities of all sorts of implements, which had been made rather for use than ornament. Petillius, fearing lest the war should be terminated in his absence, wrote to Claudius to bring his army into Gaul, for he would wait for him in the plain of Macri^a. Upon receipt of the letters, he decamped from Liguria, and delivered up the army to the consul in that plain. Within a few days the other consul Valerius arrived there also. Before they set out, they divided their forces, and both together reviewed the two armies. After that, as they did not chuse to attack the enemy in the same place, they cast lots for the routs they should take. It is certain Valerius had a good lot, because he drew it in a temple. Petillius committed an error in not doing the same, and the badness of his lot the augurs said was owing to his being without a consecrated place when he put the lot into a casket, and it's being afterwards carried into the temple. Then they separated. Petillius encamped before the ridge which joins mount Letum to Balista. There while he was haranguing his troops, it is said he foretold his death by this ambiguous expression,

^a Now *Val de Montirone*, near the river *Secchia*.

‘this day I shall take Letum^b.’ He attacked the mountains in two different places. The division which he headed himself forced the post with bravery. But the enemy repulsed the other. Upon this the consul gallop’d thither to reinstate the attack. Indeed he rallied his men, but as he was riding before the ranks, he was run through with a random javelin, and fell dead. However the enemy did not know it was the general, and the few of his own men who saw it, industriously concealed it, being sensible the victory depended upon it. The rest of the multitude, horse and foot, even without a general, forced the hill, and routed the enemy. They killed about 5000 of them, with the loss only of 52 on their own side. Besides this event being the consequence of a sad presage, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that the auspices were unfavorable, which the consul himself was not ignorant of. C. Valerius, hearing [of the death of his colleague, marched against the Ligurians. Having joined the forces, which, under the auspices of his colleague, had dislodged the enemy, he also surrounded and gave them a signal overthrow, so as sufficiently to appease the manes of his colleague. After that he returned to Rome, and gave the senate, assembled in the temple of Bellona, a detail of his own and Petillius’s exploits, demanding a triumph for himself, and the honors due to his dead colleague. A supplication was appointed for two days, and a triumph granted to him. They also ordered the legion which, though it did not desert Petillius, yet did not defend him with sufficient care and bravery, to be severely cashiered; and the senate ordered, that those soldiers, who had not screened him with their own bodies, to be deprived of a year’s pay. A few days after Valerius entered the city in triumph for the Ligurians. Then a motion was made for assembling the tribes to elect consuls and prætors. This occasioned a warm debate in the senate, as of three consuls chosen that year only Valerius survived, and he not chosen at the beginning of the year, but in room of Scipio, who died during his magistracy. But] persons learned in religion and common law insisted, that since both the ordinary consuls of the year had died, the one of a disease, and the other in battle, a surrogate consul could not preside at the comitia. [As the college of priests declared themselves of the same opinion, the state returned to an interregnum. The interrex

^b The word in Latin signifies *Death*.

CHAP. XVIII. held the elections, wherein P. Mucius Scævola, and M. Æmil. Lepidus a second time, were raised to the consulate. Next day C. Popillius Lænas, T. Annius Luscus, C. Memmius Gallus, C. Cluvius Saxula, L. Cornelius Sylla, and Ap. Claud. Centho, were chosen prætors. Then the provinces were determined by lot. The consular were Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria. Lepidus got the former, and Mucius the latter. Saxula got the jurisdiction over citizens; Luscus that over foreigners; Lænas, Sicily; Gallus, Hither Spain; Sylla, Sardinia; and Centho, Farther Spain. Since ancient authors are silent, as to the Roman and Latin troops assigned to each of them, it would be in vain to attempt ascertaining them. But we may be very certain, that before they set out for their provinces, the senate ordered the Sybilline books to be consulted for means to conciliate the favor of the Gods, and that by the direction of the decemvirs, the consuls offered sacrifices, and appointed supplications. For a plague raged among the people, but more among the cattle, and continued for the succeeding year. Their carcases lay up and down in the fields and city, and it is said that even the vultures, who are greedy of such food, would neither touch or eat of them, the strong smell of their putrify'd intrails had so corrupted the air, and increased the infection. After the *feriæ latinæ*, and other usual rites celebrated at the departure of consuls, the present ones set out in their military robes for their provinces. Lepidus in a short time, and with little trouble, routed the Boii, and the other Gauls about the Po. Then he led his troops to restrain the Ligurians behind him, that they might not join those on the sea-coast against his colleague Mucius.]

CHAP. XIX. ON this side the Apennines dwelt the Garuli, Lapicini and Hercates^a; on the other the Briniates. Near the river Audena^b Mucius attacked all those who had ravaged Luna and Pisa, and having forced them to submit, disarmed them. For these advantages gained under the conduct and auspices of both consuls in Gaul and Liguria, the senate decreed a supplication for three days, and forty large sacrifices. Thus the insurrections of the Gauls and Ligurians, which had broke out in the beginning of this year, were quelled without great difficulty, and in a short time. But now Rome became anxious about a Macedonian war, when they saw Perſes excited dissensions between the Dardans and Bastarnæ. Besides the deputies, that had been sent to observe what passed in Macedonia, returned with advice that hostilities

^a All near the springs of *Lavagna*.^b Now *La Ula*.

were already commenced in Dardania. At the same time arrived embassadors to justify Perfes, who declared he had neither called in the Bastarnæ, nor countenanced them in any thing they did. The senate would neither declare him guilty nor accuse him : They only ordered his deputies to admonish him, to be extremely cautious of observing inviolably the treaty, which he would have it thought subsisted between him and the Romans. The Dardans, seeing the Bastarnæ were so far from quitting their country, as they had expected, that they grew every day more oppressive, relying on the aid of the neighboring Thracians and Scordisci, thought their best course would be to make a daring though rash attempt : Accordingly they all ran to arms, and met at the city nearest to the camp of the Bastarnæ. It was then winter, and they purposely chose that season, expecting the Thracians and Scordisci would be then retired to their own countries. As soon as they got intelligence, that they were gone and the Bastarnæ left alone, they divided their force into two bodies, the one to attack them openly, and the other to march by bye ways and fall on their rear. But before the latter could get behind the enemy, the battle was over ; the Dardans were defeated and driven to their town, which was near twelve miles from the enemy's camp. The conquerors immediately invested the town, not doubting but next day the Dardans would surrender through fear, or they would take it by storm. In the mean time, the other body of Dardans, which had marched round to attack the enemy in rear, and were ignorant of the defeat of their other division, finding the camp of the Bastarnæ without guards [and open, hesitated a while for fear of an ambush. But then entering it without resistance, they were on the point of rifling it, when they received advice of the danger their own people were in ; so they thought it sufficient to set it and all that was in it on fire, that they might not be detained from flying to the relief of the besieged city. The Bastarnæ saw at once their camp on fire and the enemy ready to fall on their rear. On one side they considered, that they were stript of the provisions which they had convey'd from the neighboring country to serve them

CHAP.

XIX.

CHAP. a long time; on the other they suspected Perſes, who had called
 XIX. them in, of treachery. In conſequence they began to deliberate
 about flight rather than fighting. The remembrance of the
 ſignal judgment of the Gods, in the late overthrow of their country-
 men, inclined them to this reſolution. Accordingly as they
 had plundered all the adjacent country, they haſtened to more
 remote places in queſt of proviſions. All the plain was covered
 with their multitude, their women and children equalling the
 number of armed men. They diſperſed without any precon-
 certed or certain rout, but to whatever place fear and paternal
 affection led each in hopes of ſupplying the wants of his indigent
 family, aiming at nothing but the ſafety of himſelf and thoſe
 who belonged to him. The only thing they agreed in was, to
 retire to their native country. The Dardans, conſcious of the
 inequality of their ſtrength, did not purſue them vigorously,
 eſpecially ſince by this voluntary retreat out of their country
 they had obtained the end of their taking up arms. In a few
 days the Baſtarnæ, fatigued with want and travelling, arrived
 on the banks of the Iſter. The ſight of their native country
 gave them inexpressible pleaſure. The ice on the river being
 thicker and harder than uſual at that ſeaſon and in that cold
 climate, they flattered themſelves with an eaſy paſſage without the
 help of boats. But all crowding upon it at once, men and beaſts
 in a body, it proved too weak to bear ſo immense a weight, and
 falling in in the middle, this vaſt multitude was ſwallowed up
 in a moment and periſhed miſerably. Some anticipate this miſ-
 fortune of the Baſtarnæ, ſaying, that arriving on the banks of
 the Iſter on their firſt leaving their native ſoil, they all periſhed
 with their wives and children in attempting to paſs it. But the
 deputation the Dardans ſent to Rome to beg aid againſt them,
 clearly evinces, that they actually paſſed it, and penetrated as
 far as the neareſt part of Thrace. Some again ſay, that Perſes,
 diſſident of their aſſiſtance, conſpired with the Dardans to deſtroy
 them, nay think he ſent them aid for that purpoſe. It is uncer-
 tain whether the advice of their fate gave him joy or grief; he
 was ſo differently actuated by avarice, hope, fraud and fear.
 As he could not think of paying the money he had ſtipulated
 with thoſe barbarians to draw them into Thrace, and was afraid,
 if he reſuſed, they would fall on him, he undoubtedly thought
 it would be a great advantage to get rid of them. Beſides he
 flattered himſelf with being eaſily able, if they ſhould once
 be removed far out of the way, to clear himſelf from the ſuſpi-
 cions the Romans entertained of his having ſent for them, and
 with maintaining from thenceforth a firm amity with that
 powerful people, with the hopes of which he had ſuffered
 Marcius to ſooth him. But when he ſaw the war inevitable,
 terrify'd with the greatneſs of the preparations and the Roman
 forces, he began to be diſſident of himſelf. Then he lamented
 the loſs of ſo conſiderable an acceſſion of ſtrength, and began
 to fear that the Dardans, perpetual enemies to Macedon, now
 they

they were freed from the curb of those barbarians, would fall on the back of his dominions, while the Romans employ'd him on the opposite side. In consequence he began to think of making new leagues and associations with the neighboring kings and states, in order to avert these impending calamities, but too late; neither had he either application or steadiness sufficient to accomplish so necessary a plan. These things passed in Macedonia towards the close of winter.

CHAP.
XX.

ABOUT this time Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, succeeded to the crown of Syria on the death of his brother Seleucus. For the latter, who was Antiochus's son, and weakened by the misfortunes of his father, after an idle reign of twelve years, distinguished by no remarkable exploit, recalled his brother into Syria, sending to Rome in his stead his own son Demetrius. But Antiochus had scarce reached Athens on his return, when Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus. This courtier, though not of the royal blood, would have usurped the crown, but was hindered by Eumenes and Attalus, who received Antiochus with the greatest civility, aided him in his voyage to Syria, and placed him on the throne. But I will not determine, whether their civility to the new king is to be attributed to the recommendation of the Romans, or their own inclination. For some pretend to say that the Romans took umbrage at it, and it created jealousies between them. Antiochus having by their assistance got the crown and subdued the nations, rendered himself so gracious by his unexpected arrival, that he got the surname of ILLUSTRIOUS [Epiphanes] because when strangers had usurped the sovereignty, he asserted his right to the throne of his ancestors, and like a benign star shone forth to the good and consolation of his subjects. Having without opposition got possession of Syria, and the further provinces of Asia Major, even beyond the Euphrates and Tygris, he made a firm alliance with Eumenes by treaty, and then making war on Artaxias king of Armenia, took him prisoner in battle. But as monarchs, who know no law but their own wills, generally plunge into all kinds of tyranny, and the dispositions of the populace, especially the Syrians, is very variable, their affection to their present king did not continue long. Nay, on the contrary, him whom they admired so much as in distinction to give him a glorious title, they soon called Epimanes, and instead of illustrious surnamed him THE MADMAN. And in truth, after having signalized the beginning of his reign, as we have observed, he fell into a new course of life so unusual to monarchs, that he lived liker a subject and private person, than a king, or like the chief man in a petty republic. We cannot assign his motives to this behavior, whether it was to conciliate the affections of his subjects by acts of popularity, or gain favor with the Romans by imitating their republican manners, or, what was more probably the only cause of it, his natural levity of temper. For the most part he secretly, and without the knowledge of his courtiers,

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slipped out of the palace, and traversed the city with two or three attendants, sometimes running into the shops of the engravers and designers, affecting to talk learnedly of their arts. Sometimes without any inducement he would enter into familiar conversations with the meanest persons he met; go into ordinaries and taverns, and eat and drink with the most abject stranger. After this, if he heard of any meeting of young men during the night or day to make merry, he would drop in amongst them all of a sudden with a cup and band of music, and partake of their entertainment, insomuch that the greatest part, terrified by this unexpected guest, would slip away, and others, astonished at the novelty of the thing, would sit mute, while he seemed pleased with earthen dishes and dissonant music amidst their cups. It is certain he often went into the public baths with the mob, and distributed among them boxes of exquisite and costly perfumes and ointments. Then instead of his royal robes, he would dress himself in a gown, such as the candidates for offices at Rome wore, and go through the forum saluting his meanest subject, and begging his interest sometimes for the ædileship and sometimes the prætorship, and at last when he had obtained their suffrages, after the Roman manner, administer justice and determine the most trivial suits from a curule chair. His mind was so unsettled, and wandered so through all kinds of life, that neither he himself nor any one else could form a just idea of him. He would not speak to his courtiers, and would smile familiarly to those he was scarce acquainted with. His choice of the objects of his munificence, rendered both him and them subjects of derision. To persons of distinction and such as valued themselves at a high rate, he would make childish presents, sugar plums and toys to divert them, while he loaded with riches those who expected nothing. Some imagined he did not know his own mind. Some thought he assumed the character of a fool on purpose, while others roundly affirmed he was mad. However he shewed a real princely mind by the donations he made to cities and the worship of the Gods. He promised the Megalopolitans in Arcadia to build a wall round their city, and actually paid them the greatest part of the money to be laid out in that work. He presented the Cyzicans with a whole service of gold plate, for the use of their magistrates, and such as had the honor to be admitted to their public entertainments.

tainments. As to the Rhodians, I can't say with what particular favor he distinguished them, so liberal was he to them in all respects. The temple he laid the foundation of at Athens to Jupiter Olympius, so suitable to the majesty of that deity, that the like is not in the whole world, is a sufficient proof, if there was no other, of his munificence towards the Gods. But besides he built superb altars at Delos, and adorned them with exquisite statues. He likewise built an august temple at Antioch to Jupiter Capitolinus, whose roof was not only of gold, but all the walls covered with plates of the same metal. He also promised many other things of a like nature to other places, but did not reign long enough to accomplish them. He also far excel'd the preceding kings in the grandeur and magnificence of all kinds of shows and plays; and in those celebrated after the Macedonian manner, by the abundance of Greek actors. He exhibited a combat of gladiators after the Roman manner, but his people being unaccustomed to a diversion of that kind, were at first rather terrified than delighted with it. Yet by frequently repeating them, sometimes suffering the combatants to wound one another, and sometimes even without shedding blood, the spectators became familiarized and delighted with them, and they animated many of the youth to practise fencing. By this means he, who used to purchase gladiators from Rome at a vast expence, [could now procure them in his own dominions with their own consent, and they offered their service voluntarily for a small reward. But though perhaps these were manly diversions in themselves, yet the pompous review of the army representing a battle, and the entertainments, given the people with great profusion, that followed them, were rendered contemptible by his acts of buffoonery. As he had sent for the most celebrated actors in the world, and invited all the principal men of Greece and Asia to this uncommon shew, whether one considers the apparatus of the games, the number of men and horses at the review, glittering in purple, silver, gold, and precious stones, or the entertainment served out with the greatest profusion of all kinds of exquisite and delicious dishes, it will be allowed that it far excel'd every thing of the kind exhibited by former kings for many ages. But the ludicrous disposition of the whole, which he made in person,

CHAP. was quite shameful and unworthy of a king. For he rode to and
xx. fro through the procession on a small gelding, ordering some to
 march, and others to halt in such a manner, as rendered the re-
 view a perfect huddled tumult, without the least order or regu-
 larity of a disciplined army. As to the entertainment, he some-
 times sat by one, sometimes by another, without observing any
 distinction; and at other times would lye down flat on his back.
 Then starting up all of a sudden, he would go round the com-
 pany, and standing pledge all who drank to him on every side.
 At length, after the carousing had continued very late, and ma-
 ny of the guests had retired after supper, he was introduced by
 the actors, rather wrapt than dressed in a linen robe, and for-
 getting all decency or regard to the company, as if he had been
 roused by the harmony of the music, suddenly jumped up
 naked, and danced with buffoons, making such ridiculous mo-
 tions, that all the company retired blushing. As often as those
 who had assembled from all places reflected on the grand appa-
 ratus and magnificence of the show in every respect, they could
 not help admiring the opulence of the monarch and his king-
 dom: but when they considered the king himself and his fro-
 ward temper, they could not conceive how such monstrous and
 mean vices could harbor in a breast replete with many illustrious
 virtues, and a princely mind. But it is neither worth the while,
 nor easy to paint in words his folly and mad profusion. Howe-
 ver let me add, that by setting no bounds to himself in riotous-
 ly or rather madly squandering without end the tributes, cus-
 toms and vast revenues of this large and flourishing kingdom, he
 so exhausted his own purse and subjects by empty, unprofitable
 projects, that after all this profusion, he was reduced to so great
 want, that he was not only obliged to strip profane places, but
 at length, after having wasted the treasures of Syria, the farthest
 provinces of the east, and then those of Egypt, he did not even
 abstain from the temples and treasures sacred to the Gods. A-
 mongst others having by treachery got possession of Jerusalem,
 after a cruel massacre of the inhabitants, he stripped a temple,
 which even Alexander the Great did not violate, of all the silver,
 gold, and rich furniture, which for many ages, and by su-
 perstitious profusion, had been amassed there by a people, who
 are most tenacious of their religious ceremonies, and who with-
 out regard to show, and solely with a view to honor the KNOWN
 God, spared no cost or expence to enrich and adorn the place of
 his immediate presence. At length he attempted to spoil a
 temple at Elymais, sacred either to Diana or Venus, famous
 for the number of worshippers and plentifully stored with rich
 donations: in it, besides other things, were kept the shield and
 coat of mail of Alexander the Great, studded with jewels of a
 rich water, and large size. But the priests and inhabitants run-
 ning to arms, repulsed him with great slaughter, so that he was
 forced to retreat to Babylon, where he pined away with grief
 for this defeat, and was punished with an untimely death by
 that

that God, whose sacred habitation he had sacrilegiously dared to violate. Some authors say, that he and all his men perished in this attempt. Others give a like account of the manner of his father's death, who they say perished in an attempt to strip the temple of Jupiter or Belos in the same city. But those things which are foreign from our story, and happened several years after, have occasioned my making a longer digression than usual from the Roman story. But the strangeness of the subject may apologize for it.

TOWARDS the end of the year Gracchus the pro-consul, having reduced the Sardinians, and given the command of the army to the prætor Cornelius, returned to Rome to obtain a triumph, which the fathers unanimously granted him, for the great service he had done the state. The tradition is, that he brought so great a number of prisoners from thence, that people, tired with the sale, jestingly called out, 'Sardinians to sell!' This afterwards became a proverb, when any cheap and plentiful commodity was put up to sale. Then the two consuls triumphed for the Ligurians and Gauls, and as far as can be conjectured from ancient marbles, Scævola claimed his for a victory at sea. Whether he or his colleague presided at the next election is uncertain, however the fasces were transfer'd to Sp. Posthumus Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola. It happened that in the election of prætors, Lucius, or some say Cneius, Cornelius Scipio, son of Africanus, contested for the office with C. Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. It seems he had degenerated so much from the virtues of his father, and by his vices become so great a disgrace to the Cornelian family, that all the centuries were upon the point of preferring his competitor, had not Cicereius by his modesty prevented an affront which was owing either to fortune, or the error of the comitia. He could not endure to see his patron's son baffled in a competition for an office. Accordingly he left the temple, threw off the whited robe, and of an antagonist sure to succede became a generous client, and supported Scipio with his credit. Thus Scipio, by the interest of Cicereius, got an office, which it was probable the people would not have confer'd on him. However the latter had all the honor of it. The other five prætors were C. Cassius Longinus, P. Furius Philus, L. Claudius Asellus, M. Atilius Serranus, and Cn. Servilius Cœpio. The consuls moved the senate to determine their provinces. Both had Liguria, but in separate quarters. But the levies and religious affairs prevented their going thither directly, and I am of opinion, the latter was the occasion of their performing nothing memorable. Then the prætors drew lots for their provinces. Longinus got the jurisdiction over citizens, and Scipio that over foreigners. Atilius got Sardinia, but was ordered to go to Corsica with a new legion of 5000 foot and 300 horse, which the consuls had levied. Cornelius, the former prætor of Sardinia,

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Sp. Post. Al-
binus, Q.
Mucius
Scævola,
consuls.
Y. of R. 578.
B. J. C. 174.

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nia, was continued in his command there while Attilius prolecuted the war in Corsica. Cœpio got the Farther, and Philo the Hither Spain, with 3000 Roman foot and 250 horse, and 5000 Latin foot and 300 horse each. Afellus got Sicily without any supply of troops. Besides the former the consuls were ordered to levy two new legions with their full complement of horse and foot, and to procure from the Latins 10000 foot and 600 horse. The consuls were greatly obstructed in making the levies by the plague, which now made as great havoc among men, as it had done the year before among beasts. Those who were seized with it, languished generally till the seventh day, if they got over that, it turned to a quartan ague. The mortality was greatest amongst the slaves, whose carcases lay scattered about the streets unburied. Nay the stores for funerals, which were kept in the temple of Libitina, were not sufficient to bury the people of free condition. The dead bodies rotted away without being touched by dogs or vultures; and it is sufficiently certain, that during all the time the plague raged this and the preceding year, a vulture never was seen. Many priests died of it. The pontifex, Cn. Servilius Cœpio, father of the prætor, T. Semp. Longus, son of Caius, one of the keepers of the sacred books, and P. Ælius Pætus the augur, Ti. Semp. Gracchus, and C. Mamilius Vitulus, the curio maximus, with the pontifex M. Sempronius Tuditanus. In room of the latter C. Sulpicius Galba was chosen pontifex, and T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus to succede Gracchus as augur: Q. Ælius succeded Pætus, and C. Sempronius Longus was chosen keeper of the sacred books, and C. Scribonius curio maximus. As the plague did not seem to abate, the senate ordered the Sybilline books to be consulted. By their direction a supplication of one day was appointed, and the people in the forum made a vow, which was pronounced by Q. Philippus the pontifex maximus, to celebrate the *feriæ latinæ* for two days, in case the pestilence

and

and mortality ceased in the Roman territories. In the territory of Veii a boy was born with two heads, at Sinuessæ one wanting a hand, and at Osimo a girl with teeth. Above the temple of Saturn, in the forum at Rome, was seen a rainbow during a whole day, though the weather was fair and serene; likewise three suns at the same time, with many lights shooting through the air in the same night about Lanuvium. The Cærites affirmed they saw in their city a serpent with a crest, and yellow spots like gold. It is also very certain an ox spake about Capua.

ABOUT the 7th of June the ambassadors, who CH. P. had gone to Carthage, after they had been at the court of Masinissa, returned from Africa. They XXII. learned more of the transactions at Carthage from the Numidian prince, than from the Carthaginians. However they said they had found that ambassadors had arrived there from Perses, and had an audience in the night in the temple of Æsculapius: Masinissa likewise affirmed, and the Carthaginians but faintly deny'd, that they had sent an embassy to Macedonia. Upon this the senate resolved to send ambassadors thither also, and pitched upon C. Lælius, M. Val. Messala, and Sex. Digitius. About the same time a canton of the Dolopes refusing to submit to Perses, and had appealed to the Romans to determine the controversy betwixt him and them. However the king took the field with an army, and reduced the whole nation into subjection to him. From thence he crossed mount Oeta, and under pretext of satisfying some religious scruples, went to consult the oracle at Delphos. Thus all of a sudden he appeared in the heart of Greece, and struck great terror into the neighboring cities; nay the alarm reached king Eumenes in Asia. He tarried only three days at Delphos, and then took his rout towards his own kingdom through Phthiotis of Achaia and Thessaly, without committing the least hostilities in the countries through which he marched. He was not contented thus to conciliate the affections of the states through which

which he passed, but either sent deputies or circular letters, begging them to forget the enmities that had subsisted between them and his father, and which were not so inveterate, but that they might, nay ought to have terminated with him. For his own part he saw nothing to obstruct their entering into a firm alliance with him. In a particular manner he cast about for means to be reconciled to the Achæans.

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THIS nation and Athens alone had carried their resentment so far as to prohibit all Macedonians from entering their territories. By these means many of their slaves fled for refuge to Macedonia, and as the Achæans had interdicted the king's subjects their country, they durst not enter his to reclaim them. When Perseus perceived this, he ordered them all to be seized, and sent back to their masters, with letters, advising them to prevent a like desertion of their slaves for the future. When their prætor Xenarchus, who sought an opportunity of gaining the king's favor, read those letters, most of the assembly, and especially those who contrary to their expectation were to receive back their fugitive slaves, declared they thought the king's letters were very friendly and generous. But Callicrates, who was sensible the safety of their state depended on their inviolably maintaining their friendship with the Romans, spoke as follows. 'The present subject of our deliberation seems to many a matter of little or no importance. But in my opinion it is not only of the utmost consequence, but already in some measure determined. For we, who have prohibited the kings of Macedon and their subjects from entering our dominions, and passed an irrevocable decree not to admit their ambassadors or messengers to an audience, for fear of their misleading some of us, now hear as it were an absent Perseus haranguing our assembly, and (God deliver us!) approve his speech. Even wild beasts for the most part despise and avoid the food that is laid to decoy them, but we
blindly

' blindly swallow a bait gilded with the specious ap-
 ' pearance of an inconsiderable favor, and in hopes
 ' of recovering some despicable slaves of small va-
 ' lue, suffer our own liberty to be undermined by se-
 ' cret practices. Who does not see, that Perſes ſeeks
 ' to pave a way for an alliance with him, which muſt
 ' violate our friendship with the Romans, upon which
 ' our all depends? Indeed ſome may doubt that the
 ' Romans will not have war with Perſes, and that
 ' what was expected during Philip's life, and only
 ' ſuſpended by his death, will not happen now he is
 ' dead. You know Philip had two ſons, Perſes
 ' and Demetrius. The latter far excel'd the former
 ' in birth by the mother's ſide, in virtue, natural a-
 ' bilities, and the affection of the Macedonians. But
 ' as the father deſtined his crown as a reward to him
 ' who entertained the moſt inveterate hatred to the
 ' Romans, he murdered Demetrius upon the ſole ac-
 ' cuſation of having contracted a friendship with that
 ' people, and made Perſes king, whom the Romans
 ' looked upon as more deſerving of puniſhment,
 ' than to ſucceed to a throne. And, pray, what
 ' reſpect has this prince done, ever ſince his father's
 ' death, but made preparations for war? Firſt of
 ' all he ſent the Baſtarnæ into Dardania, to the great
 ' terror of all Greece, who, had they continued there,
 ' would have found them more oppreſſive neighbors
 ' than the Gauls were to the Aſiatics. Though he
 ' miſſed his aim in that, yet he did not lay aſide his
 ' projects of war; nay, to ſpeak the truth, he has
 ' already commenced hoſtilities. He has ſubjected
 ' Dolopia by force of arms, and ſhewed no regard
 ' to their appeal to Rome concerning the provinces
 ' in diſpute. Then croſſing mount Oeta, that he
 ' might on a ſudden appear in the heart of Greece,
 ' he went up to Delphos. With what view do you
 ' think did he undertake this ſtrange expedition?
 ' Next he traversed Theſſaly, and his moderation in
 ' doing thoſe people whom he hates no injury, makes
 ' me more ſuſpicious that he intended to found their
 ' inclina-

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inclinations. Last of all he sends letters to us under the appearance of doing us a kindness; bidding us think on proper measures to prevent our needing the same favor from him a second time; that is, that we would cancel our decree, which prohibits the Macedonians from entering Peloponnesus, that we may admit his ambassadors, entertain commerce with his courtiers, and soon see the Macedonian army and the king himself pass from Delphos into Peloponnesus, which are separated only by a narrow streight: that we may join his forces when he takes arms against the Romans. My advice is to take no new resolution, but preserve things on their present footing, till we have absolute certainty, whether our fears are without foundation or not. If the peace continue between Macedonia and Rome, let us also contract an alliance and commerce with Perseus. At present all thoughts of it are dangerous and unseasonable.

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THEN Arco, brother to Xenarchus, thus harangued the assembly, 'Callierates has rendered it difficult for me and all who differ from him in opinion to speak their sentiments. By pleading for maintaining our alliance with Rome, by saying the violation and subversion of it is attempted, when nobody makes such an attempt, he hath cunningly devised, that all who are of a contrary opinion may be thought to speak against the Romans. First of all, as if he was not a member of our state, but had come from the privy deliberations of Rome, or been present at the cabinet councils of Macedonia, he knows every thing, and informs us of their most secret machinations. He also prophesies what would have come to pass if Philip's life had been prolonged; how Perseus got the crown, what the Macedonians designs are, and what the resolution of the Romans. But we, who neither know the cause nor manner of Demetrius's death, or what Philip would have done, had he lived longer, ought to suit our deliberations to the open face of affairs.

affairs. And this we are certain of, that Perſes, CHAP
 as ſoon as he came to the throne ſent an embaffy XXIV
 to Rome, and the Romans recognized him king :
 we have heard, that they ſent embaffadors to the

court of Macedon, where they met with a gracious
 reception. I look on all theſe circumſtances as
 certain indications of peace, not of a rupture ;
 neither can the Romans be offended, that, as we
 were firmly attached to them during the war, we
 imitate their example in peace. For I ſee no rea-
 ſon why we alone ſhould ſuſtain a war againſt the
 Macedonians with unabating reſentment. Are
 we afraid, becauſe we lye ſo near and ſo convenient
 for them? Are we the weakeſt of all their neigh-
 bors, like the Dolopes, whom Perſes lately ſub-
 dued? Nay, on the contrary, with the bleſſing
 of the Gods, our own ſtrength and the very diſtance
 of our country ſecures us againſt their attempts.
 But ſuppoſe we were as much expoſed to them as
 the Theſſalians and Ætolians ; ſuppoſe we, who
 have been conſtant allies and friends to the Ro-
 mans, had no more credit and intereſt with them
 than the Ætolians who not long ago were their
 enemies ; yet let us have the ſame commerce with
 the Macedonians, that the Ætolians, Theſſalians,
 Epirotes, and in one word all the ſtates of Greece
 have. Are we alone ſo execrable as to renounce
 human ſociety, if I may be allowed the expreſſi-
 on? Philip, by bringing his arms againſt us, gave
 us ſome reaſon for paſſing this decree. But what
 has Perſes deſerved? This new king, ſo far from
 doing us injury, endeavors by his favors to cancel
 the enmity his father bore us. Why then are we
 alone an enemy to him? Nay, I might ſay, ought
 not the benefits we have received from former kings
 of Macedon, make us forget the injuries done us
 by Philip (if indeed he did us any) eſpecially now
 he is dead. Formerly when a Roman fleet was
 riding at Cenchrea, when their conſul was at Elatia
 with an army, our diet deliberated for three days,

whether

whether we should take part with the Romans or
 with Philip. Though our dread of the Romans,
 who were at hand, might have inclined us to join
 them, yet surely we must have had some reason
 for being so long in coming to a resolution. What
 was that reason? Even our ancient alliance with
 the Macedonians, and the many former and great
 obligations we lay under to their kings. Let the
 same reasons have some weight now, and induce
 us, if not to be their best friends, at least not to
 be their most inveterate enemies. Let us not,
 Callicrates, speciously insist on what has no relation
 to the present question. No body advises rashly to
 engage ourselves in a new treaty or alliance. We
 want only a mutual commerce and an opportunity
 to grant and receive justice, that we may not, by
 interdicting the Macedonians, be deny'd admittance
 into their dominions; that our slaves may not al-
 ways have an asylum open to them. Can this be
 any violation of our treaty with the Romans?
 Why do we render so trifling and open an affair
 a matter of the utmost consequence and suspicious?
 Why do we raise alarms on no foundation? Why
 do we, to flatter the Romans, make others suspected
 and hated by them? If it was a time of war, even
 Perfes himself would not doubt of our joining the
 Romans. As it is peace, let us at least suspend,
 if we cannot entirely put a period to our resent-
 ment.' The same persons who approved of Per-
 fes's letters, applauded Archo's speech; but the chief
 lords, offended that Perfes should imagine he could
 obtain by a short letter, what he had not thought
 worth sending an embassy for, prevented any resolu-
 tion being taken in the affair at that time. The Ma-
 cedonian afterwards sent ambassadors to their diet as-
 sembled at Megalopolis: but the faction, which
 feared giving the Romans umbrage, used all their
 efforts to prevent their being admitted to an audi-
 ence.

ABOUT the same time, the Ætolians wreaked their fury on one another, and their intestine massacres had like to have ruined their state. But being weary of their mutual jars, both factions in the end sent deputies to Rome at the same time that they labored all they could amicably to accommodate their differences among themselves. However they were prevented by a new act of treachery, which rekindled their former fury. Some of Polyxenus's faction, who had been expelled Hypata, had a promise of being reinstated in their country, under the most solemn assurances of safety, from Eupolemus the head of the city. This man went out amongst the crowd and met 80 of them, men of distinction, on their return. But after giving them the most kindly welcome, as soon as they entered the gates he caused them all to be put to death, in vain invoking the Gods to witness the assurances of safety that had been given them. This rekindled the intestine war with more fury. C. Val. Lævinus, Ap. Claud. Pulcher, C. Memmius, M. Popilius and L. Canuleius, who had been sent to reconcile them arrived about this time at Delphos. The deputies of both factions debated the matter before them with great warmth; but Proxenus seemed to have the advantage both in regard to the goodness of his cause and his eloquence. However he was poisoned a few days after by his wife Orthobula. She was condemned, but fled into exile. The Cretans also had run into the same fury. But upon the arrival of Q. Minucius, who had been sent with ten ships to compose their differences, their tranquillity seemed in a great measure to be restored. However the truce between the contending factions lasted only six months, when the war broke out again with more violence than ever. The Lycians also about this time were grievously harassed by the Rhodian arms. But it is not my purpose to relate the progress of the wars of foreign nations; and I find more than sufficient employment in writing the Roman story.

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xxvi.

THE Celtiberians, who had after their defeat submitted to Gracchus, continued quiet while M. Titinius was in the province, but on the arrival of Ap. Claudius renew'd hostilities, and begun with attacking the Roman camp. The sentries on the rampart and the guards before the gates descry'd them approaching about day break, and gave the alarm. Claudius, having given the signal for battle and made a short speech to his troops, led them out at three gates at once. The Celtiberians opposed them in the passage, and as the narrowness of the place hindered the Romans from engaging all at once, the battle was equal for some time. But when by pressing one another forward they had got without the lines, and extended their front as far as the enemy's wings, which surrounded them before, they charged all of a sudden with so much fury, that the Celtiberians were not able to withstand them. Before eight o'clock in the morning they were entirely routed, and about 15000 of them slain or taken prisoners, with 32 standards. Their camp also was taken the same day, and the war finally terminated: For those that survived the battle fled away to their own cities, and quietly submitted to the Roman yoke.

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THE same year Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Posthumius Albinus were elected consuls. In reviewing the senate they nominated M. Æmilius Lepidus president of it, and degraded nine members. The chief of that number were, M. Corn. Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before; the present prætor Scipio, who administered justice between citizens and foreigners; and Cn. Fulvius's brother to the censor, and who, according to Valerius Antias, was partner in his estate. The consuls, after having made the usual vows, set out for their provinces. The senate gave Æmilius the charge of suppressing the sedition of the Paduans in the territory of the Veneti, as their own deputies had brought advice, that the disputes of their factions had embroiled them in an intestine war. The deputies wh

who had been sent to compose a like sedition in Æto-
lia, sent back word, that it was impossible to check
the fury of that nation. The arrival of the consul at

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Padua saved that people, and as he had no other employment in his province he returned to Rome. The censors were the first who paved the streets with flints, and the roads without the city with gravel, banking them on each side with stone. They also built bridges in several places, and a theatre for the prætors and ædiles to exhibit the plays in. Likewise places in the circus to keep the race horses in, till the signal for starting, the ovals for marking the number of courses, the goals within which the chariots were not to pass, and iron cages out of which the wild beasts were to be let into the circus. They also made iron instruments for the use of the consuls on mount Alba. They also paved with flint the ascent leading to the capitol, and the portico leading from the temple of Saturn in the capitol to the house where the senators met for private consultations with the court above it and the key without the gate Terminus, all with stone, and guarded them with wooden rails. They also repaired the Æmilian portico, and made stairs from the Tyber to the key. Without the same gate they paved the portico leading to the Aventine hill, and in the same street built a public hall near the temple of Venus. They likewise surrounded Calatia and Osimo with walls, and having sold some public edifices there, expended the money arising from that sale in building shops round the forum of these two cities. As Posthumius insisted he would do no public work or lay out their money without particular orders from the Roman senate and people, his colleague Fulvius built a Temple to Jupiter at Pisaurum and Fundæ, an aqueduct at Polentia, paved a high way at Pisaurum with flint, and laid the aviaries at Sinuessa with gravel. He also made common-sewers in these colonies, surrounded their market places with porticos and shops, and erected three statues of Janus at Sinuessa. These works gained Fulvius great favor among the colonies.

Those censors were also very severe in their reformation of morals. They degraded many knights.

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XXVIII.

TOWARDS the end of the year a supplication for one day and twenty large sacrifices were appointed for the success of their arms in Spain under the auspices of Ap. Claudius. Upon report of a great earthquake in Sabinia, which had overturned many houses, a supplication for another day was appointed for Ceres, Liber and Libera. On Claudius's return from Spain the Senate granted him the honor of an ovation. The time for electing consuls approached, and the number of candidates occasioned a great struggle. However L. Posthumius Albinus and M. Popillius Lænas were prefer'd. Then Numerius Fabius Buteo, M. Macienus, C. Cicereius, M. Furius Crassipes, A. Atilius Serranus, and C. Cluvius, the three latter a second time, were chosen prætors. When the elections were finished Ap. Claudius Cætho entered the city in an ovation for the Celtiberians, and brought into the treasury 10000 pound weight of silver and 5000 of gold. Cn. Cornelius was installed priest of Jupiter. In the same year a board was hung up in the temple of Matuta, with the following inscription. 'Under the command
' and auspices of T. Sempronius Gracchus a legion
' and army of the Roman people subdued Sardinia.
' In that province 80000 enemies were either killed
' or taken prisoners. The consul after this success,
' and having freed and restored the allies from being
' tributary to the enemy, brought back his troops
' safe and sound and enriched with booty. He entered
' Rome a second time in triumph. As a memorial of which, he caused this inscription to be
' hung up in honor of Jupiter.' The figure of the board resembled that of the island, and contained the plan of several battles. Besides in this year several combats of gladiators were exhibited, some of which were but mean. The most remarkable was that given by Flamininus, in honor of his deceased father, with a dole, entertainment, and stage plays for

for four days successively. But the most observable circumstance in this show, was, that in the space of three days 74 champions fought.

BOOK XLII.

The censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus spoils the temple of Juno at Lacinia of it's fine marble roof, in order to cover a temple which he dedicates; but it is carry'd back by order of the senate. Eumenes king of Asia complains to the senate of Perses king of Macedonia. The injuries he did the Romans are also related here. For these reasons war is declared against him, and the consul P. Licinius Crassus, who has Macedonia for his province, has several unsuccessful encounters with his horse in Thessaly. The senate fixes a day to hear the debate between Masinissa and the Carthaginians about a certain territory. Deputies sent to solicit the ally'd states and kings to persevere steadily in their alliance, because the Rhodians fluctuated. The censors close the lustrum, and enrol 257231 citizens. Besides this book contains an account of the victories gained over the Corsicans and Ligurians.

THE first thing the new consuls did was to move the senate to determine the provinces and armies. Liguria was allotted to them both, and to act in it each of them had two new legions with 10000 Latin foot and 600 horse, and orders to raise 3000 Roman foot and 200 horse to recruit the army in Spain. They were also to levy 1500 Roman foot and 100 horse, with which the prætor, who should get Sardinia, should prosecute the war in Corsica, and in the mean time the old prætor M. Atilius was to remain in that province. Then the new prætors drew lots for theirs. Serranus got the jurisdiction over citizens; Cluvius that over foreigners; Buteo, Hither; Matienus, Farther Spain; Crassipes, Sicily; and Cicereius, Sardinia. Before these magistrates set out for their provinces, the senate resolved, that the consul Albinus should make a progress into Campania to separate the public lands from the estates of private persons; for it was certain, that the latter, by making gradual encroachments, possessed a great

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I.

A. Post. Albinus and M. Popil. Lænas, consuls.
Y. of R. 580.
B. J. C. 172.

CHAP. I. part of the state lands. This magistrate had a pique against the Prænestines, because when he went there in a private capacity to sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, they had shewn him no regard either in public or private. Accordingly before he set out from Rome, he sent letters to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him on the road, provide him a lodging at the charge of his city, and have carriages ready against his departure. He was the first consul, who ever put the allies to any charge or expence. For to prevent their being a burden to the allies, the public always furnished the magistrates and her generals with all necessaries, tents and mules; and on the roads they lodged with their friends, between whom and them the rights of hospitality were mutually maintained. The towns were only obliged to find conveyances for the couriers which the republic sent express to them. Otherwise the Roman magistrates never put the allies to any expence. This resentment of the consul, which though just, ought not to have been wreaked during his magistracy, and the silence of the Prænestines proceeding from either modesty or fear, made the Roman magistrates, as if the precedent had been approved, daily more exorbitant in these demands upon the allies.

CHAP. II. IN the beginning of the year, the ambassadors, who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedonia, sent back word, 'that they could not obtain an audience of Perfes, some saying he was absent and some sick, though both were equally false. However it was evident he was making preparations for war, and would not delay it longer. That the intestine seditions in Ætolia daily increased, and that their authority was not sufficient to restrain the heads of these dissensions.' While they were thus in continual expectation of the Macedonian war, it was resolved, before it commenced, to expiate the prodigies, and render the Gods propitious, in the manner prescribed by their Sybilline books. The representation

sentation of a great navy had been seen in the air at Lanuvium: At Privernum black wool had grown out of the earth: At Remens near Veii it rained stones: The Pomptine territory was overspread with clouds of locusts: As they were ploughing in Gaul, fishes started up in the furrows. On account of these prodigies the Sybilline books were consulted, and the decemvirs directed what sacrifices and to what Gods they should be offered, and that a supplication should be made for one day. Likewise that the other, which had been vowed the preceding year for abating the plague, should be now performed, and holidays strictly observed.

THE same year the roof was taken off the temple of Juno Lacinia on the following occasion. The cen-
sor Flaccus had vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris when he made war on the Celtiberians in Spain, and now used his utmost endeavors to render it the most magnificent and superb edifice in Rome. He thought it would be a great ornament to it if it was covered with marble tiles. With this view he set out for Bruttium, and took the half of the roof off the temple of Juno Lacinia, thinking that would be sufficient to cover his own. He had boats ready to ship and carry them away, without being obstructed in this sacrilege by the allies whom he overawed by his censorial authority. At the censor's return, the tiles were landed and carry'd to the temple. Though he never mentioned from whence they came, yet it was impossible to conceal it. The senate loudly exclaimed against it, and insisted, that the consuls should move the senate to take the affair under consideration. The censor was sent for, and as soon as he entered the house, they all in general, and each in particular, bitterly inveighed against him to his face; ' That not contented with having violated the most august temple in that part of the country, and which even Pyrrhus and Hannibal had never touched, he had uncovered and ruined it. He had taken off it's roof, and exposed it to the injuries of the weather.

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III.

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III.

A censor, whose function it was to watch over the morals of others and take care that the temples and public edifices were kept in exact repair, ran from city to city of the allies to ruin and uncover their sacred temples. Such violence, exercised upon private buildings, would seem vile to all men; but in respect to the temples of the Gods, it was an abominable sacrilege. His erecting one temple by the ruins of another was involving the Roman people in his sacrilege; as if the Gods were not every where the same, and one was to be violated to honor another. Before they proceeded to a division, the whole senate had evidently expressed their sentiments. Accordingly they unanimously voted, that the tiles should be carried back and replaced on the temple, and that the Goddess should be appeased by sacrifices. The latter was carefully performed, but the persons who carried back the tiles brought word that they had been left in the area of the temple, because no workman could be found that was ingenious enough to replace them.

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IV.

THE prætors having set out for their provinces, N. Fab. Buteo died at Marseilles on his journey to Hither Spain. When couriers arrived from Marseilles with this news, the senate ordered P. Furius and Cn. Servilius, who were to be succeeded by new prætors, to draw lots, which of them should continue another year in command of Buteo's province. The lot fell out very well, that Furius, who had had that province the year before should stay. The same year as the lands conquered from the Ligurians and Gauls lay waste, the senate passed a decree, for dividing them. Accordingly by their order the city prætor created M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Cassius, T. Æbutius Carus, C. Tremellius, P. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. and L. Apuleii, M. Cæcilius, C. Salonius and C. Munatius to execute that commission. They gave every Roman citizen ten acres apiece, and every Latin three. In the interim embassadors arrived from Ætolia about the dissensions and seditions in their country, and from Thessaly,

Theſſaly, with advice of the motions in Macedonia.

BY this time Perſes, revolving in his mind the war which had been concerted in his father's life time, endeavored to conciliate the affections not only of all the nations but of all the particular ſtates of Greece, by ſending embaffadors to them and making them greater promiſes than he performed. However moſt of them were inclined to favor him, and rather better affected to him than to Eumenes, notwithstanding the latter, by his ſervices and munificence, had laid all the ſtates and moſt of the principal men of Greece under the ſtrongeſt obligations, and governed his own kingdom with ſo much moderation, that none of the cities ſubject to him would have changed conditions with any of the free ſtates. On the contrary it was reported that Perſes, after the death of his father, had ſtab'd his wife with his own hand; and privately murdered Apelles, who had been his inſtrument in treacherouſly taking away the life of Demetrius, and was living in exile becauſe Philip ordered ſearch to be made for him to bring him to puniſhment. However Perſes ſent for him after the death of his father, and made him promiſes of great rewards for the ſervice he had done him. Yet though thus ſtain'd with domeſtic and other murders, and without the leaſt merit to recommend him, the generality of the ſtates of Greece prefer'd him to a prince who ſhewed the moſt pious affection towards his relations, ſuch moderation to his ſubjects, and ſo great munificence to all men. It is uncertain whether their motives to condemn the origin of this new king, were being prejudiced by the ancient renown of the Macedonian kings, a deſire of novelty, or an ambition to ſee Perſes make head againſt the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only ſtate that had intestine ſeditions on account of their great debt; for the Theſſalians were in the ſame condition, and the contagion had ſpread all over Perrhœbia like a plague. As ſoon as advice arrived, that the latter

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CHAP. V. were in arms, the senate dispatched Ap. Claudius to enquire into and accommodate their differences. After he had chastized the ringleaders of both factions and with consent of the creditors, struck off all the accumulated usury, he ordered the just debt to be paid at equal annual payments. He also in the same manner composed the differences in Perrhœbia. At the same time Marcellus was hearing at Delphos the causes of the Ætolian dissensions, which they had maintained with the keenest resentment, and even by arms. When he saw their animosities hurry'd them on the most rash and audacious actions he would not pass a decree for the relief of the one or burdening the other party; but beg'd both in general to cease hostilities, and forgetting all that was past, terminate their dissensions by a sincere reconciliation. Accordingly they comply'd and engaged to meet at Corinth to exchange hostages for their mutual fidelity.

CHAP. VI. FROM Delphos and the Ætolian diet, Marcellus passed over to Peloponnesus, having appointed the states of Achea to meet. There he praised the constancy of the nation in firmly adhering to their decree for keeping the kings of Macedonia out of their territories. This was a plain demonstration of the resentment the Romans bore to Perfes. To hasten it's breaking out into open hostilities, king Eumenes came to Rome, with notes of all the Macedonian's preparations for war, which he had been at great pains in collecting. About the same time the five embassadors that were sent to watch the motions of Perfes in Macedonia, were ordered to go to Alexandria and renew the ancient alliance with Ptolemy. Their names were, C. Valerius, Cn. Lutatius Cerco, Q. Bæbius Sulca, M. Cornelius Mammula, and M. Cæcilius Denter. There also arrived at Rome an embassy from Antiochus, with one Apollonius at the head of it. When they had their audience of the senate their chief in the first place apologized very solidly in the name of his master, for having de-

lay'd

lay'd paying the tribute so long after the stated time. But now he had brought it all, that his master might lye under no obligation to the Romans, but in regard to the time of payment. Besides he had brought them a present of gold vases, weighing 500 pounds^a. He desired they would renew the alliance and friendship they had made with his father, and assured them, that whatever the Roman people should enjoin him, and was proper to be laid upon a sincere and faithful ally, he would never fail to perform with the greatest obsequiousness. For the senate had heaped so many favors on him when he was at Rome, and he had met with so great civilities from the Roman youth, that he had been treated more like a king than an hostage. The fathers gave them a gracious answer, and ordered the ancient alliance to be renewed with Antiochus. The city quæstors received the tribute and the gold vases, and they had commission to place the latter in whatever temples they pleased. They also made the embassador a present of 100000 asses of brass, and defray'd his expences as long as he was in Italy. The embassadors that were in Syria sent advice, that they were highly honored at that court, and that the king was among Rome's fastest friends.

THE same year the prætor Cicereius fought a pitched battle with the Corsicans, in which he killed 7000 enemies, and took above 1700 prisoners. In that battle he vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Then he granted them peace at their humble request, and made them pay 200000 pound weight of wax. After reducing Corsica he sailed to Sardinia. A battle was fought in the territory of the Statiellates in Liguria near the city of Carystus^a, where a vast body of Ligurians had assembled. Upon the arrival of the consul Popillius, they at first sheltered themselves within their walls: but when they saw him preparing to besiege their city, they marched out and drew up

^a 24000 l. sterling.

^b *Garusco*, on the road from *Tortona* to *Genoa*.

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in order of battle. With this very view the consul had menaced them with a siege; so he did not delay coming to an action. The battle continued three hours without victory declaring itself. When the consul perceived that all efforts to break the enemy were in vain, he ordered the cavalry to mount, and to ride with full speed to break the enemy in three places at once. The greatest part of them broke through the centre, and fell on the enemy's rear. This filled them with terror. They dispersed themselves on all sides, but few took their rout to the city, because the Roman cavalry in a particular manner guarded the avenues to it. Many of the Ligurians fell in this obstinate battle, and many were killed in the flight. Their loss in all amounted to 10000 slain, and upwards of 700 taken prisoners, with 82 standards. It was even a bloody victory to the Romans, who lost above 3000 men, as many in both fronts were killed.

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AFTER this battle the Ligurians, who had been dispersed in the flight, assembled, and, finding that the numbers they had lost exceeded that of those who remained, which amounted to about 10000, surrendered, without demanding any conditions. For they hoped the consul would not treat them with more rigor than former generals had done their countrymen. But he took away their arms, dismantled their city, and sold them and their effects. Then he wrote the senate an account of what he had done. When the prætor Atilius (for the other consul was busied about the lands in Campania) had read the letters in the senate, the fathers looked on Popillius's conduct as vile and infamous. The Statiellates, said they, 'the only people of Liguria who have not born arms
' against the commonwealth, who even, on this last
' occasion, have been attacked without being the ag-
' gressors, had been used with all imaginable cruel-
' ty, after they had surrendered and thrown them-
' selves on the faith of the Romans. By selling for
' slaves so many innocent persons, who implored the
justice

‘ justice of the Romans, he had set so pernicious an
 ‘ example, that for the future no enemy would ven-
 ‘ ture to surrender. The Statiellates are drag’d away
 ‘ to be slaves to those who once were avowed ene-
 ‘ mies of Rome, but now enjoy peace.’ In conse-
 ‘ quence the senate passed a decree, ‘ that Popillius
 ‘ should reinstate them in their liberty, by returning
 ‘ the money to those who had purchased them; and
 ‘ take care to restore them as many of their effects
 ‘ as could be recovered. That they should have per-
 ‘ mission to make arms themselves as soon as they
 ‘ could. And, lastly, that the consul should quit
 ‘ the province as soon as he had reinstated the Ligu-
 ‘ rians in their former condition. Victory was glo-
 ‘ rious when gained over real enemies, but infamous
 ‘ when purchased by oppressing the unfortunate who
 ‘ submit.’

BUT the consul was as obstinate in refusing to
 obey the senate’s commands, as he had been cruel to
 the Ligurians. He immediately put his troops into
 winter quarters at Pisa, and returned to the city full
 of rage against the fathers and indignation against A-
 tilius. He directly assembled the senate in the tem-
 ple of Bellona, and bitterly inveighed against the
 prætor. ‘ Instead of moving the senate, said he, to
 ‘ return thanks to the immortal Gods for my success
 ‘ as he ought, he obtained a decree of senate against
 ‘ me in favor of the enemy, in order to transfer my
 ‘ victory to the Ligurians, and in a manner ordered
 ‘ me to be delivered up to them. Therefore I demand
 ‘ of you, fathers, to order him to be fined, and that de-
 ‘ cree to be cancel’d; that the supplications which
 ‘ ought to have been decreed in my absence, when you
 ‘ received my letters with an account of my success, be
 ‘ now appointed, and the honors I have merited con-
 ‘ fer’d on me.’ But the fathers reproached him to
 his face with as much severity as they inveighed a-
 gainst him in his absence; so he returned to his pro-
 vince without obtaining either of his demands. His
 colleague Posthumius, having spent the whole summer
 in

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in bounding the public lands, returned to Rome, without having seen his province, to preside at the elections, in which C. Popillius Lænas and P. Ælius Ligur were chosen consuls. Then C. Licinius Crassus, M. Junius Pennus, Sp. Lucretius, Sp. Cluvius, Cn. Sicinius, and C. Memmius a second time, were elected prætors.

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x.

THIS year the censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and L. Posthumius Albinus closed the lustrum. The number of citizens enrolled amounted to 269015. What made the number so small was, that the consul Posthumius had issued an edict, forbidding all the Latins, who ought to have returned home in pursuance of an order of a former consul, C. Claudius, to be registered at Rome, but in their own states. This censorship was administered with great harmony, and much to the advantage of the republic. All the senators they had degraded, and the knights from whom they took their horses, they removed from their tribes, and reduced to the condition of ætarii, without one of them approving what the other did in this respect. Fulvius dedicated the temple which he had vowed to Fortuna Equestris, when he made war on the Celtiberians, six years after that vow, and on that occasion exhibited stage plays for four days, and the Circensian games for one day. L. Corn. Lentulus, one of the keepers of the sacred books, died this year, and A. Posthumius was chosen to succeed him. The wind all of a sudden brought so great a cloud of locusts into Apulia, that all its lands were covered with them. C. Sicinius, one of the prætors elect, was sent to destroy this pest so fatal to the productions of the earth. With a great number of peasants, whom he drew together, he destroyed them in some time. In the beginning of the consulate of C. Popillius and P. Ælius, the disputes of the preceding year were revived. The fathers insisted that the affair of Statiellates should again be brought upon the carpet, and the decree concerning them renewed, and accordingly the consul Ælius laid it before them. On the other hand, Popillius interceded with his colleague

C. Popil.
Lænas, P.
Ælius Li-
gur, consuls.
Y. of R. 580.
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league and the senate for his brother, declaring he would oppose all resolutions against him. This de-
 ter'd his colleague. But this only the more enraged the fathers against both consuls, and made them per-
 sist in the affair. Therefore when the allotment of the provinces came upon the carpet, though the consuls petitioned to have Macedonia for one, as a war with Perſes was on the point of breaking out, yet the senate assigned Liguria to them both. They refused them Macedonia, because they had stopt the bill about M. Popillius. After that when they petitioned for new armies, or at least recruits for the old ones, the fathers would grant them neither. Junius and Lucretius, the new prætors for the two Spanish provinces, petitioned for a supply of troops for their armies, but were refused. Crassus got by lot the jurisdiction of citizens; Sicinius that of foreigners; Memmius, Sicily; and Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, full of indignation against the fathers, for the reasons abovementioned, appointed the *feriæ latinæ* as soon as possible, declaring they would set out directly for their provinces, without entering on any state affairs, except what related to their own governments.

VALERIUS ANTIAS says, that during this consulate, Attalus, brother of Eumenes, came to Rome to accuse Perſes, and inform the senate of the preparations he was making for war. But the greatest number of annalists, and those deserving of more credit, say that Eumenes came in person. On his arrival, he was received with magnificence, not only suitable to his own merit, but to the favors the Roman people had formerly heaped upon him. Being introduced into the senate, he declared, 'that besides his desire to pay his duty to the Gods and men, by whose munificence he had been raised to so high a pinnacle of fortune, that he durst wish for nothing more, the motive of his journey was to apprise the senate, to be on their guard against the enterprizes of Perſes.' Then beginning with Philip's

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lip's first designs, he mentioned his murdering Demetrius, because he had declared against making war upon the Romans. He, he said, brought the Bastarnæ out of their own country, to favor his invading Italy. While he was meditating this project, he was surprized by death, but had left his crown to one, whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to the Romans. In consequence Perſes neglects no preparations, as if he himself had first formed the plan of a war, which was left him, as well as the crown, by inheritance. As his dominions have enjoy'd a long tranquillity, he has a numerous body of youth: he has an opulent and powerful kingdom. He himself is in the bloom of life. Besides his robustness and vigor of body, his courage and ardor have been inured to war by long study and practice. From his infancy he was educated in his father's tent, and accustomed to arms, by many and various expeditions his father sent him on, not only against his neighbors, but even in the war with Rome. Besides, since he has been upon the throne, he has effected with surprizing success, many things, which his father by all his efforts of open force and treachery could never compass. Above all, he has already gained an authority, which commonly is the effect of time and great deserts.

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All the states of Greece and Asia revere his majesty; but it is not easy to be conceived for what benefits, for what munificence they do him so much honor; neither will I determine, whether his being able to conciliate their favor was owing merely to good fortune, or to his enmity to the Romans. He is also highly considered by the most powerful kings. He has married the daughter of Seleucus, who courted him to that alliance; and upon Prusias's humble suit, he gave him his sister to wife. Innumerable embassies, with rich presents, had been sent to congratulate him on these two nuptials, which had been contracted under the auspices of the

the noblest nations. Philip, by all his alluring solicitations, could never induce the Boeotians to form an alliance or treaty with him; but a treaty is already signed with Perses, by three of their principal cities; one at Thebes, a second at Delos, within a most august and celebrated temple, and the third at Delphos. Nay, but for the opposition of some particular members in the diet of Achaia, who were well affected to the Roman government, he would have got footing in Achaia. But, O Gods, the honors and services I have done that nation (and I can scarce say, whether that people in general, or individuals, lye under the greatest obligations to me) are quite forgot and neglected, or cancel'd by hostilities. As to the Aetolians, is not all the world sensible, that they applied to Perses, and not to the Romans, for succor during their intestine seditions? Supported by these allies and associates, he is making such preparations for war at home, as he needs no foreign assistance. He has 30000 foot and 5000 horse, with provisions for ten years; so that he can spare foraging during that time, either in his own, or his enemy's territories. Beside the immense annual revenues of his mines, he has money in his coffers sufficient to pay 10000 foreign mercenaries, without including his national troops, for an equal number of years. In his magazines he has arms enough for triple the forces he has on foot; and if Macedonia should not be able to furnish him a sufficient number of soldiers, he had Thrace at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of men.

TO this he added a warm exhortation. 'I do not, continued he, conscript fathers, advance those things upon conjecture, founded on uncertain rumors, or from a fond desire to have such accusations of my enemy verified; but upon a knowledge, from the strictest enquiry, as undoubted, as if you had sent me to be a spy upon him, and I had myself been

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been eye witness of them. Neither would I have left those large and fair dominions which you bestowed upon me, or have passed so great a sea, in order to destroy my credit with you by repeating groundless reports. No! I observed the most noble states of Greece and Asia daily, more and more discovering their inclinations; and if they are not checked, they will soon procede so far, as that it will be out of their power to retreat or repent. I saw Perses seizing other countries by force of arms; so far was he from containing himself within the limits of Macedonia, and endeavoring, by favors and acts of kindness, to conciliate the affections of such as he could not reduce by force. I considered the difference between his proceedings and yours: He prepares for war, while you are procuring him certain peace. Nay, to me he appears, instead of preparing for war, to have actually begun it. He has driven Abrupolis, your friend and ally, out of his dominions. He caused Aretarus, a petty king of Illyricum in alliance with Rome, to be assassinated, because he kept a correspondence with you. He took care to have the two chief men of Thebes, Everfas and Callicrates, murdered, because they spoke their sentiments of him freely in the diet of Boeotia, and declared they would discover his intrigues to you. Contrary to treaty he succored the Byzantines, made war upon Dolopia, and traversed Thessaly and Doris with an army, taking advantage of an intestine sedition to assist the party in the wrong, and oppress those who had justice on their side. He hath perplexed and embroiled every thing in Thessaly and Perrhoebia, giving the debtors hopes of cancelling all debts, that he might with a body of bankrupts thus attached to him, oppress the principal men. As he saw you quietly look on, while he was engaged in those actions, and that you left him at liberty to do in Greece what he pleased, he now thinks himself sure, that he will meet no army till he lands in Italy.

‘ Italy. You, Romans, are best judges of what is
 ‘ most for your safety, and suitable to your dignity.
 ‘ For my own part, I thought it would be base in
 ‘ me, who was your ally, to suffer Perſes to com-
 ‘ mence hostilities againſt you, before I came into
 ‘ Italy to warn you to be on your guard. Having
 ‘ acquitted myself of a necessary duty, and discharg-
 ‘ ed my conscience, what farther remains for me,
 ‘ than to pray the Gods, that you may take the mea-
 ‘ sures best for yourselves, your republic, and us your
 ‘ friends and allies, whose fate depends on you.’

THIS speech made a great impression upon the CHAP.
 fathers. What passed in the senate was not then XIV.
 known, except that Eumenes had been there, such
 an inviolable secrecy was observed by that august
 body. It was not till after the war was terminated,
 that the speech of that monarch and the answer given
 him were divulged. A few days after audience was
 given to the ambassadors of Perſes. But as king
 Eumenes had prejudiced both the minds and ears of
 the fathers against them, all their defences and en-
 treaties were rejected. Besides, Harpalus the chief
 of the embassy gave still greater offence by the
 haughtiness of his discourse. He said, ‘ his master
 ‘ desired, and earnestly too, to be believed on his
 ‘ own word, when he declared in his defence he had
 ‘ neither done or said any thing that could be con-
 ‘ sidered as an act of hostility. But since he perceived
 ‘ pretexts for a war were industriously sought against
 ‘ him, he would defend himself with courage. War
 ‘ was hazardous, and the event of it uncertain.’ All
 the states of Greece and Asia were in great pain for
 the effects which Perſes’s ambassadors and Eumenes’s
 journey would produce; and as they were certain the
 latter would exasperate the fathers, most of them
 had sent deputies to Rome under different pretexts.
 Among the rest was one Satyrus, chief of the
 Rhodian embassy, who did not doubt but Eumenes
 had joined his state in his accusations of Perſes. In
 consequence he used all his interest with his friends

CHAP. XIV. and patrons to get an opportunity to debate the matter with him in the senate. When he had obtained his desire, he broke out into the most extravagant reproaches against the king, accusing him of having stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians, and of being more insupportable to Asia, than even Antiochus himself. The Asiatics, so much was Perseus favored, were pleased with this speech; but the senate expressed great dislike at it, and it did no service either to Satyrus or his state. This conspiracy against Eumenes augmented the regard of the Romans for him. They confer'd on him the highest honors, made him the richest presents, and gave him a curule chair and an ivory scepter.

CHAP. XV. AFTER the ambassadors were dismissed, Harpalus with all possible expedition returned to Macedonia, and reported to his master, that the Romans at his departure were not indeed making preparations for war, but it was evident they would not delay it long. Perseus himself, besides his believing it would be so, now earnestly desired war, because he thought he had strength sufficient to maintain it. He was most incensed against Eumenes, and therefore begun the war with his blood. He suborned Evander, the captain of his Cretan auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, whom he had formerly employ'd on like occasions, to assassinate the king of Pergamus. For this purpose he sent them with commendatory letters to a lady of great rank and fortune at Delphi, with whom Perseus used to lodge. He knew very well, that Eumenes was going thither to sacrifice to Apollo. The assassins set out with Evander, and went round all places in quest of one fit for their wicked purpose, which was all they wanted. In going from Cirrha^a to the temple, before one comes to the houses, was a ruined wall on the left hand of the road, pretty high from the foundations. The passage along this was so very narrow that two could not go abreast in it; for to the right hand the earth had fallen in to a con-

^a The port of Delphos.

considerable depth. Behind this wall the assassins hid themselves, and had made steps to the top of it, that they might from thence, as from a rampart, discharge their weapons against the king. First of all from the shore came a great company of the courtiers and guards; but as the way grew narrower it thin'd. As soon as they came to this place, where only one could march at a time, Pantaleon, one of the chiefs of Ætolia, with whom the king was talking, entered it first. Then the assassins started up, and rolled down two huge stones, one of which struck the king on the head, and the other on the shoulder, which stun'd him; so that he fell from the road into the ditch, with a shower of stones upon him. All his courtiers and guards fled as soon as they saw him fall, and Pantaleon alone stay'd and protected him with intrepidity.

CHAP.

xv.

THE ruffians had but a short way to come round the wall and dispatch the king quite; but imagining they had already done their business effectually, they fled to the top of Parnassus with so much expedition, that when one of them, not able to keep pace with them through these steep and pathless mountains, retarded their flight, they stab'd him, lest he should be taken and discover the villainy. The king's friends first, and then his guards and servants gathered round his body. When they rais'd him up they found him stun'd with the stroke and quite insensible. However by a little heat and palpitation of the heart, they found he was not dead; and yet they despaired of his life. Some of his guards pursued the assassins as far as the tops of the mountains, but in vain. As the Macedonians undertook this bold enterprize without having seriously weigh'd it, so they left it uncompleted in as foolish and cowardly a manner. For the king came to himself, upon which the lords of his court next day put him on board his galley, and carry'd him to Corinth, and from thence to Ægina. As no person was suffered to come near him, the cure was kept so secret, that it was affirmed in Asia

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xvi.

that he was dead. Attalus was more ready to believe it, than became the brotherly love and concord that had subsisted between them. For he confer'd with his brother's queen and the governor of the citadel, as if he had already been king. Eumenes was informed of it, and though he resolved to put it up in silence, yet at first meeting he could not refrain from upbraiding his brother, with being too hasty in making his addreses to his queen.

CHAP.

XVII.

THE rumor of the death of Eumenes was spread at Rome when Valerius, who had been sent to enquire into the state of Greece, and watch the motions of Perfes, returned from thence. His report agreed exactly with the accusations Eumenes had brought against the Macedonian. Besides he brought from Delphi with him Praxo, who had entertained the assassins, and one Rammius from Brundisium, who discovered an act of like villainy. This Rammius was the most powerful citizen of Brundisium, and entertained all the Roman generals and embassadors, with all the foreign ministers, in particular those of Perfes. By this means he was well known to Perfes, though at a distance. The king, by letters, giving him hopes of a stricter friendship, and great preferments, he made a journey to him. In a short time he became very familiar with him, and had more of his secret confidence than he desired. For the king endeavored, by promises of great rewards, to engage him ' to poison such of the Roman generals and embassadors, since they usually lodged with him, as ' he should direct in his letters to him. As he was ' sensible it would be both difficult and dangerous to ' effect this, if many were privy to it; and that the ' event was uncertain, if the means were not efficacious ' enough to compass it speedily, or of such a nature ' as to shew no marks of violence; he would give him ' such a poison as could not be discovered by any ' symptom, either in the taking, or after.' Rammius, afraid, if he refused, that the experiment would be first try'd on him, promised to obey the king.

king. However he would not return to Brundisium, till he had confer'd with the commissioner C. Valerius, who he heard was then at Chalcis. He first discovered the affair to him, and by his order accompanied him to Rome. When he had an audience of the senate, he revealed to them every thing that had passed between him and Perfes.

THIS additional proof to the information given by Eumenes, hastened the declaration of war against Perfes, whom, instead of making preparation for it, like an honorable prince, they saw having recourse to all kinds of secret villainy, assassinations and poisonings. They refer'd the management of the war to the succeeding consuls. However at present they ordered the prætor Sicinius, who had the cognizance of causes between citizens and foreigners, to levy troops, lead them to Brundisium, and from thence with all expedition transport them to Apollonia in Epirus, to secure the maritime towns, that the consul, who should get Macedonia for his province, might have a safe station for his fleet, and landing for his troops. Eumenes, who had been kept some time at Ægina under a difficult and dangerous cure, went to Pergamus, as soon as he could with safety, and there, besides his former hatred, being spirited on by the recent instance of Perfes's villainy, made all possible preparations for war. In the mean time ambassadors arrived at his court from Rome, to congratulate him on his having escaped so great a danger. As the Macedonian war was deferred till next year, all the prætors had set out for their provinces, except those for Spain, Junius and Lucretius. They teased the senate with repeated petitions for a supply of troops, till at length they obtained 3000 Roman foot and 150 horse, with 5000 foot and 300 horse from the allies. These they carried with them into Spain.

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XVIII.

IN the same year, as the consul Posthumius by an exact survey had recovered to the public a great part of the Capuan lands, which private persons had

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possessed themselves of without a title, M. Lucretius, a plebeian tribune, passed a law empowering the censors to let them out, the which not having been done for many years, after the taking of Capua, had left private persons at liberty to indulge their avarice by seizing lands which no body possessed. The Macedonian war being now concluded on, though not declared, while the senate with impatience expected to see what kings would join them, and what would take part with Perses, ambassadors arrived from Ariarathes with his only son then a boy. They said, ‘ Their master had sent his son to be educated
 ‘ at Rome, in order to accustom him from his in-
 ‘ fancy to the Romans and their manners. He
 ‘ humbly beg’d, that he might not only be under the
 ‘ inspection of private persons, but that the state
 ‘ would take him under their protection and guardi-
 ‘ anship.’ This embassy was very acceptable to the fathers, who ordered the prætor Sicinius to furnish the young prince lodgings for himself and retinue. The Thracians also, who were at variance amongst themselves, sent deputies to ask an alliance and friendship with the Romans. It was granted them, with a present of 2000 asses of brass to each of the deputies. The senate were overjoy’d at the alliance with this people, who lay on the back of Macedonia. But that they might be satisfy’d of the inclinations of the states of Asia, and the islands, they dispatched Ti. Claudius Nero, and M. Decimius, with orders to go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the former alliance, and at the same time discover whether Perses had been tampering with them.

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XX.

WHILE the state was thus anxiously expecting the new war, a column built of the beaks of ships by M. Æmilius, whose colleague was Ser. Fulvius, in the first Punic war, was thrown down from the very foundation by a thunder storm in the night. This was looked on as a prodigy, and laid before the senate. The fathers refer’d it to the haruspices, and ordered the decemvirs to consult the Sybilline books.

books. The decemvirs declared that the city should be purify'd, supplications and prayers made to the Gods, the larger sacrifices offered, both in the capitol at Rome, and the promontory of Minerva in Campania, and that as soon as possible games should be celebrated in honor of Jupiter O. M. All these were performed with great care. The haruspices answered, that the prodigy was a good one, portending the enlargement of the Roman territories, and the destruction of their enemies; inasmuch as the storm had only beat down beaks which were the spoils of enemies. But accounts of other prodigies increased their superstitious fears. It was reported from Saturnia, that it had rained blood there for three days. At Calatia an ass was foaled with three feet, and a bull with five cows struck dead at once by lightening. At Osimo it rained earth. To expiate these sacrifices were offered, and a supplication with the *feriæ latinæ* celebrated for one day.

THE consuls had not yet gone to their provinces, because they would not obey the senate in laying the affair of M. Popillius before them, and the fathers resolved to pass no decree till it was determined. Besides the resentment against Popillius was augmented by letters he wrote to inform the fathers that he in quality of pro-consul had fought a second time with the Statiellates, and killed 10000 of them. This injurious action had made all the other Ligurians rebel. Then the senators not only inveighed against the absent Popillius, who, contrary to all justice, and the law of nations, had made war upon a people that had submitted, and provoked those who were quiet to rebel, but reprimanded the consuls for not going to their provinces. Besides, two plebeian tribunes, M. Marcius Sermo, and Q. Marcius Scylla, emboldened by the unanimity of the fathers, declared that they would fine the consuls, if they did not repair to their provinces. They also read to the senate a bill which they had prepared in favor of the Statiellates. The purport of it was, that

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if any of the Statiellates were not restored to their liberty before the first of August, the senate, after being sworn, should nominate a person to take cognizance of the affair, and punish him who was the occasion of their being in slavery. Then, by order of the senate, the bill was proposed in the comitia. Before the consuls set out, Cicereius, prætor of the preceding year, had an audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona. After giving a detail of his exploits in Corsica, he demanded a triumph in vain; however he triumphed on mount Alba, which was now become a customary thing when it could not be done by public authority. The comitia unanimously confirmed the Marcian law concerning the Statiellates. Then the prætor Licinius moved the senate to nominate a person to put it in execution, and they appointed himself.

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XXII.

AT length the consuls set out for their provinces, and received the command of the army from M. Popillius. The latter durst not return to Rome, for fear, as the senate were incensed against him, but the people much more, of taking his trial before a prætor, who had taken the senate's advice how to procede against him. But to remedy his absenting himself, the tribunes obtained another ordinance, empowering the prætor to pass a final sentence against him, if he did not appear before the 13th of November. This drag'd him to Rome, where he entered the senate, which was highly exasperated against him. They loaded him with reproaches, and passed a decree, ordering the prætors C. Licinius and Cn. Sicinius to restore to liberty, and settle in lands beyond the Po, all the Ligurians who had not been enemies to Rome since the consulate of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius. By this decree many thousands were restored to liberty, and settled beyond the Po. In pursuance of the Marcian law, M. Popillius twice pleaded his cause before the prætor Licinius; but on the third hearing, the prætor, out of regard to the absent consul, and the intercession of the Popillian family,

family; delay'd the trial till the 15th of March, when the new magistrates entered into office, that he might not have it in his power to pass sentence, as his commission expired that day. Thus was the law in favor of the Ligurians fallaciously eluded.

THE embassadors of the Carthaginians, who were then at Rome, had great disputes in the senate with Gulussa, the son of Masinissa. They first complained, ' that besides the territory, on account of which the senate had already sent commissioners into Africa, to examine on the spot to whom it appertained, Masinissa two years since had again possessed himself of above seventy cities and forts belonging to the Carthaginians by force of arms. That such usurpations were easy to a prince who had no regard to justice, while the Carthaginians had their hands tied by the treaty which prohibited them to pass their frontiers with an armed force. That they indeed might undertake to drive the Numidian out of the lands he had seized, without the imputation of having made war out of their own territory; but they were restrained by another clause not equivocal, which expressly forbid them from making war on the allies of the Roman people. But not being able any longer to bear the pride, avidity and cruelty of Masinissa, they were come to implore the Romans to grant them one of these three things; either to hear both parties equitably, to which they were equally allied; or to suffer the Carthaginians to oppose just and legal arms to the violence employ'd to crush them; or, lastly, if favor had more influence with them than reason and justice, to declare once for all, to what a degree they thought fit to gratify Masinissa with the dominions of others. The senate would at least be moderate in their liberality, and know what it gave: whereas the Numidian observed no other rule than that dictated by his ambition. That if they obtained any of these three points, and had since the peace granted them by Scipio committed

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any

CHAP. XXIII. any fault that had drawn upon them the indignation of the Roman people, they themselves might decree the punishment they deserved. It was more eligible to be slaves under masters that would at least afford them security, than to retain a liberty continually exposed to the unjust invasions of Massinissa. That, lastly, it was better for them to perish once for all, than to languish out a miserable life, always exposed to the cruelties of the most violent of tyrants.' After this speech they prostrated themselves upon the earth with tears in their eyes, and by their dejection and sorrow excited as much indignation against the king, as compassion for themselves.

CHAP. XXIV. GULUSSA was afterwards asked what he had to say to the objections of the Carthaginians, unless he chose previously to acquaint the senate with the reasons for his coming to Rome. The young prince replied, 'That it was not easy for him to answer matters, concerning which his father had given him no instructions; and that though he should have thought fit to have done that, it would have been difficult for him to reply, not knowing what brought the Carthaginians to Rome, and not being assured they intended to come thither. That their chiefs had met privately in the temple of Æsculapius for several nights, and then dispatched their ambassadors with secret instructions. That his father had sent him to request the senate not to give credit to a people, who were his enemies as well as those of the Romans, and who only hated him for his constant and inviolable fidelity to the interests of the Roman people.' After the senators had heard the discourses on both sides, and deliberated on the demands of the Carthaginians, they answered, 'that their intention was that Gulussa should return immediately into Numidia, to tell his father to send ambassadors immediately to Rome, who might answer the complaints made to the senate against him by those of Carthage. That out

of regard to him they should, as they had hitherto, do every thing that appeared reasonable; but that they should grant nothing to favor contrary to justice. That they agreed that both sides should keep possession of what appertained to them in the country they disputed, and confine themselves within the ancient limits without forming new ones. That the Roman people, after having overcome the Carthaginians, had not restored them their cities with a design to seize unjustly in time of peace, what they had not taken from them, as they might have done by the right of war.' The senate dismissed Gulusa and the Carthaginian ambassadors with the usual presents and marks of amity.

ABOUT the same time Cn. Servilius Cæpio, Ap. Claudius Centho and T. Annius Luscus, the ambassadors who had been sent to demand satisfaction of the Macedonian, and to renounce his alliance, increased the fathers resentment, which was already high enough, by the detail of what they saw and heard. We saw, said they, nothing but the greatest preparations for war through all the cities of Macedon. When we reached the court, we waited several days for an audience of the king. At last after we had despaired of obtaining it, and set out on our return, we were recalled from our journey and introduced to him. We chiefly insisted on the treaty made with his father, and after his death renewed with himself, by which he was prohibited from carrying arms without his own limits, and from making war on the allies of Rome.' Then they related in order every thing which Eumenes had informed the fathers of before. Besides, continued they, we represented that he had had deputies from the states of Asia assembled for several days at Samothrace. We told him it was reasonable he should make satisfaction for these injuries, and restore to Rome and her allies every thing he had usurped contrary to treaty. Upon this the king at first flew out into a great rage, not sparing reproaches. He often upbraided us with the

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the avarice and haughtiness of our republic; told us that the frequent embassadors she sent to him were only spies on his words and actions, and that she was not content, except all the world was governed by her nod. At last after having spent himself by loud exclamations, he ordered us to attend next day, when he intended to give us an answer in writing. Then we received the following. “I have nothing to do with the treaty Rome formerly made with my father. If I suffered it to be renewed, it was not because I approved it, but because I thought it my interest to put up with every thing on my first mounting the throne. If Rome desires to make a new treaty with me, she ought first to settle the terms, and resolve that it be on honorable conditions; and let her take care of her own interests, as I will of mine.” Then he turned to go out of the room, and all his courtiers begun to follow. Upon that we renounced his alliance and friendship. This stopt him in a great fury, and with an audible voice, he ordered us to quit his dominions in three days. Thus we took our leave, having met with no civil or hospitable treatment, either at our arrival, or during our stay.’ After this the Thessalian and Ætolian embassadors had an audience. The senate, in order to know what generals they would have for this war as soon as possible, wrote to the consuls, desiring which ever of them best could, to come to Rome to hold the elections.

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XXVI.

THE consuls this year performed nothing memorable or to the glory of the republic. For as the Macedonian war was impending, it was thought most for her interest to mollify and appease the exasperated Ligurians. Deputies arrived from Issa, and raised great suspicions of Gentius king of Illyricum. At the same time that they complained of his having twice ravaged their country, they informed the fathers that the kings of Macedon and Illyricum lived in the strictest harmony and friendship, and by concert made preparations for the war: that the Illyrian embassadors,

ambassadors, who were at Rome, were sent by Perſes as CHAP.
to diſcover what paſſed there. Upon this the ſe- XXVI.
nate ordered them to be called. They ſaid their ma-
ſter had ſent them to defend him againſt whatever
the Iſſæans ſhould lay to his charge. Then the fathers
aſked, how it happened that they had not applied to
the magiſtrates, that they might have received the u-
ſual compliment of free lodgings and preſents; and
to intimate their arrival and buſineſs? As they heſi-
tated in their answer, they were ordered to withdraw.
The ſenate did not think proper to diſmiſs them as
ambassadors, ſince they had not demanded a public au-
dience. So they ſent a deputation to inform Gentius,
that the Iſſæans had complained of his having put
their country to fire and ſword, and to repreſent to
him his injuſtice in thus injuring their allies. The em-
bassadors were A. Terentius Varro, C. Pletorius and
C. Cicereius. The deputies, that had been ſent round
among the allied kings, reported, ‘ that they had
been with Eumenes in Aſia, Antiochus in Syria,
and Ptolemy at Alexandria. That Perſes had ſent
ambassadors to ſolicit them all, but they had firm-
ly adhered to their former alliance, and promiſed to
perform all the commands of our republic. They
had alſo gone round all the allied ſtates, and found
them all ſteady, except the Rhodians, who were
wavering, and infected by the counſels of Perſes.’
The Rhodians had ſent ambassadors to clear them-
ſelves from the reports they knew were ſpread abroad
of their ſtate. However it was reſolved not to give
them an audience till the new magiſtrates had entered
into office.

THE fathers did not think proper to defer the CHAP.
preparations for the war. The prætor Licinius was XXVII.
ordered to reſit as many of the old quinqueremes,
which were laid up in the docks, as could be fit for
ſervice, and prepare a fleet of fifty ſail. If he found
any difficulty in completing that number, he ſhould
write to his colleague Memmius to reſit all the ſhips in
Sicily, and ſend them with all expedition to Brundi-
ſium.

CHAP. **XXVII.** **fium.** He was ordered also to levy as many enfranchised persons and Roman citizens as would man 25 sail, and Sicinius to procure as many allies as would man an equal number. The same prætor received orders to demand 8000 foot and 400 horse from the Latins. A. Atilius Serranus, prætor of the former year, was pitched upon to receive these troops at Brundisium and transport them into Macedonia, and Sicinius to have them ready for that purpose. The prætor Licinius by order of the senate wrote to the consul C. Popillius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest in Liguria, with 4000 Latin foot and 200 horse, to be at Brundisium by the 13th of February. With this fleet and army Sicinius was ordered to act in the province of Macedonia till a successor should arrive; for that purpose he was continued in command another year. All the senate's orders were executed with care and dispatch. 38 quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks, and L. Porcius Licinus was ordered to carry them to Brundisium. 12 more were sent from Sicily. Sex. Digitius, T. Juventius and M. Cæcilius were sent into Apulia and Calabria to provide provisions for the fleet and army. When all was ready, the prætor Sicinius quitted the city in his general's robe and arrived at Brundisium.

CHAP. **XXVIII.** **TOWARDS** the end of the year, but later than the senate had appointed, the consul C. Popillius returned to Rome. For so great a war was impending, that they had ordered him to come, and hold the elections as soon as possible. For this reason the fathers did not give him a favorable audience when he gave them a detail of his exploits in Liguria in the temple of Bellona. They loudly called out from all sides, why he had not restored to liberty those Ligurians, whom his brother had so injuriously oppressed? The comitia were held on the day appointed by edict, twelve days before the calends of March, and the fasces were transferred to P. Licinius Crassus, and C. Cassius Longinus. Next day C. Sulpicius Galba, L. Furius Philus, L. Canuleius Dives, C. Lu-

C. Lucretius Gallus, C. Caninius Rebilus, and L. Villius Annalis, were elected prætors. The provinces for which these prætors were to draw lots, were the two jurisdictions in the city, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and the fathers reserved one lot to be at their own disposal. The senate ordered the consuls elect, on the very day they should enter upon office, to offer the larger sacrifices, and implore success to the Roman arms in the war the state was then meditating. The same day the senate ordered the consul C. Popillius to vow games to Jupiter the greatest and best of beings, and to offer presents at all the shrines, if the republic should continue in the same state for ten years. Agreeable to this decree, the consul vowed the games in the capitol, and to make a present of such a sum as the senate should appoint. Lepidus the pontifex maximus dictated this vow in presence of not less than 150 persons. This year two public priests died, L. Æmilius Papus, keeper of the sacred books, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus a pontif, who had been censor the preceding year. The latter made a miserable exit. He received advice that one of his two sons, who were serving in the Ligurian war, was dead, and the other lying at the point of death. Grief and fear overwhelmed his mind at the same time, and when his servants entered his bed-chamber in the morning, they found him hanging by a rope. It was the common opinion, that he had been mad ever since his censorship, and it was believed, that Juno Lacinia had deprived him of his senses through rage at his having spoiled her temple. M. Valerius Messala was chosen decemvir in room of Æmilius, and in that of Fulvius, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, who in truth was too young to be chosen a priest.

IN the consulate of P. Licinius and C. Cassius, not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and states both in Europe and Asia, had their eyes turned upon the war between the Romans and Macedonians. Eumenes was actuated by an ancient hatred

CHAP. to Perses, and still more by the recent attempt to
 XXIX. sacrifice him at Delphi. Prusias, king of Bithynia,
 had resolved to remain neuter, and to wait the event.
 He flattered himself that the Romans would not in-
 sist on his taking up arms in their favor against his
 wife's brother, and he hoped if Perses were victori-
 ous, he would easily suffer himself to be swayed by
 the intreaties of his sister. Ariarathes, king of Cap-
 padocia, besides having promised the Romans aid,
 inviolably adhered to the side espoused by Eumenes,
 after he had contracted affinity with him. Antiochus
 conceived thoughts of possessing himself of Egypt,
 relying upon the weakness of the minor king, and
 the cowardice and indolence of his guardians. He
 imagined he had found a plausible pretext for mak-
 ing war on that prince, by disputing Coelo-Syria with
 him, and flattered himself, that the Romans, em-
 ploy'd in the war of Macedonia, would not be any
 obstacle to his ambitious designs. In the mean time
 he had offered the senate and their deputies by his
 embassadors all his forces. Ptolemy through the
 weakness of his age was not in a condition to dispose
 of himself. His guardians prepared for the war with
 Antiochus to secure the possession of Coelo-Syria,
 and promised the Romans every thing for the war
 with Macedonia. Masinissa aided the Romans with
 corn, troops and elephants, and intended to have
 sent his son Misagenes to this war. His political
 views, according to the different events of this war,
 were, if the Romans should be victorious, to remain
 in the state he then was without going further, be-
 cause the Romans would never suffer him to reduce
 the Carthaginians to extremities. If on the contrary
 the Roman power, which then supported Carthage,
 was worsted, he assured himself of the conquest of
 all Africa. Gentius, king of Illyricum, had only
 rendered himself more suspected by the Romans,
 without knowing however which side to take; and
 it seemed as if this would be the occasion, rather
 than a fixed plan and concerted design, to determine
 him

P. Licinius
 Crassus, C.
 Cassius Lon-
 ginus, con-
 suls.
 Y. of R. 581.
 B. J. C. 171.

him to espouse either the one or the other. And, lastly, Cotys of Thrace, king of Odrysæ, had declared openly for the Macedonians.

SUCH were the dispositions of the kings with respect to the war between Perſes and the Romans. As to the free ſtates and cities, the multitude almost every where, who uſually take to the worſt ſide, inclined to that of the king and the Macedonians. The inclinations of the principal men of the cities were in a manner divided into three claſſes. Some ſo ſervilely favored the Romans, that they loſt all credit and authority with their fellow citizens for ſo blind a devotion ; and of theſe few were ſwayed by the juſtice of the Roman government, the major part regarding only their own intereſt, convinced, that they ſhould have credit in their cities only in proportion to the ſervices they ſhould render the Romans. The ſecond claſs was thoſe who were abſolutely devoted to the king ; ſome becauſe their debts and the bad ſtate of their affairs made them deſire a revolution, not believing it poſſible to ſubſiſt without it ; the natural vanity of others determined them to ſide with the multitude, who had openly declared in favor of Perſes. A third claſs, and this was the moſt prudent and judicious, if it had been abſolutely neceſſary to take either ſide, and they at liberty to chule their maſter, would have preferred the Romans to the Macedonian : but they deſired ſtill much rather, if it had been poſſible, that neither of the two powers ſhould much augment their ſtrength by the reduction of the other, and that retaining a kind of equality and balance, they ſhould continue at peace with each other ; becauſe in that caſe one of the two taking the weak ſtates under it's protection, which the other might be for oppreſſing, would render their condition much more ſecure. In this indetermined ſtate they conſidered, as from a place of ſafety, the dangers of thoſe who had joined either with the one or the other. On the day the conſuls entered upon their office, they, in purſuance of a decree of ſenate, offered

CHAP.
xxx.

ferred the larger sacrifices in all the temples in which the lectisternium was usually spread for the greatest part of the year. After they knew by the presages, that the immortal Gods had accepted their prayers, they reported to the senate, that the victims were favorable, and their prayers for success in the war had been graciously heard. Besides the haruspices answered, ' that the new enterprize they were about ' should be begun with all speed ; for the Gods promised victory, triumph, and the enlargement of ' the Roman dominions.' The fathers pronounced the following decree. ' May our design prove fortunate and auspicious to the Roman people. Let ' the consuls with all expedition desire the comitia ' assembled by centuries, that since Perseus, son of ' Philip, and king of Macedon, has, contrary to ' the treaty made with his father, and since his death ' renewed with himself, taken up arms against our ' allies, laid waste their lands, and seized their cities, ' and formed a design to make war upon us, having ' for that purpose prepared arms, troops and a fleet, ' to order a war to be carried on against him, if he ' do not make us satisfaction.' The people consented to this decree when it was laid before them.

CHAP.
xxxI.

THE N the senate passed a second decree, ' ordaining the consuls either to cast lots, or agree between themselves, for the provinces of Italy and ' Macedonia ; that he who should get the latter, ' should prosecute the war against Perseus, and all ' who adhered to him, if he did not give the Roman ' people satisfaction.' It was thought proper to raise four legions, two for each consul. However the following difference was made in regard to Macedonia ; whereas the other consul's legions consisted each only of 5000 foot and 200 horse, the ancient complement of a legion, those to be levied for Macedonia were ordered to consist each of 6000 foot and 300 horse. Besides the consul of that province was to have more troops of the allies than usual, viz. 16000 foot and 800 horse, 600 besides those Sicinius had

already carried thither. Twelve thousand foot and 600 horse of the allies were thought sufficient for Italy. Besides, the consul for Macedonia had particular leave to chuse as many of the veteran centurions and soldiers who were not yet 50 years old, as pleased to list voluntarily. On account of the Macedonian war a new regulation was made in regard to the legionary tribunes, by a bill the consuls proposed to the people by order of the senate, that they should not be chosen by suffrages that year, but the consuls and prætors should be left to chuse them at their own pleasure and discretion. The prætors commands were disposed in the following manner. He who was to go wherever the senate should appoint him, was ordered to repair to the fleet at Brundisium. There he was to review the sailors, and after dismissing those who were not fit for service, to supply their places with enfranchised slaves, taking care however that two thirds of them should be Romans, and the other allies. It was also ordered, that the prætors who should get Sicily and Sardinia for their provinces, should send provisions for the armies and fleet from thence; that they should impose a tribute of two tenths of the corn on those islands, and send them to the army in Macedonia. Rebilus got Sicily; Philus, Sardinia; Canuleius, Spain; Galba, the jurisdiction of the city; Annalis, that of foreigners; and Gallus was to be sent wherever the senate pleased.

THERE was a great wrangling rather than CHAP. dispute between the two consuls for their provinces. XXXII.

Cassius insisted, ' that he was to carry on the war in Macedonia without drawing lots, since his colleague could not draw them without being guilty of perjury. To prevent his repairing to his province when he was prætor, he swore in an assembly of the people that he had sacrifices to offer on stated days, and in particular places, which would not suffer him to be absent. Now he could as little be absent from them in his consulate as he could in his prætorship. However if the senate thought fit to shew more

CHAP.
XXXII.

‘ regard to Licinius’s ambition when consul, than to
‘ the oath he took when prætor, he would acquiesce
‘ in their pleasure.’ The fathers having been asked
their advice, and thinking it would be arrogant to
deny him the government of a province whom the
people had raised to the dignity of consul, ordered
the consuls to draw lots. Licinius got Macedonia,
and Cassius Italy. Then they drew lots for the legi-
ons, the first and third were to be transported to Ma-
cedonia, the second and fourth to stay in Italy. The
consuls made the levies with more care than usual.
Licinius made choice of a great number of veteran
soldiers and centurions, and many entered voluntarily,
because they saw how much those who had served in
the former Macedonian war, and against Antiochus,
had enriched themselves. When the legionary tri-
bunes called the centurions according to their rank,
23 of them who had been primipuli, appealed to the
plebeian tribunes. Two of that college, M. Fulvius
Nobilior and M. Claudius Marcellus, refer’d them
to the consuls, alledging, ‘ that the cognizance of
‘ such matters properly belonged to those who had
‘ commission to make levies, and carry on wars.’
Their colleagues insisted, ‘ that they would judge ap-
‘ peals brought before them, and give the injured
‘ party redress.’

CHAP.
XXXIII.

ACCORDINGLY the affair was brought be-
fore the tribunes, and the consuls appeared with the
centurions, and M. Popillius, a man of consular dig-
nity, to plead their cause. However the consuls de-
manded that the affair should be debated before an
assembly of the people, and accordingly it was called.
Here Popillius, who had been consul two years be-
fore, spoke in favor of the centurions, representing,
‘ that these officers, besides having served their le-
‘ gal number of campaigns, were worn out with age,
‘ and numberless fatigues one on the back of another.
‘ However they did not refuse still to serve the re-
‘ public. All they asked was, not to be put in ranks
‘ inferior to those they served in last.’ The consul

Lici-

Licinius ordered the decree of senate to be read. It first empowered him to make war on Perses, and next to levy for that service as many veteran centurions as he could, without exempting any one, except he was above 50 years of age. Then he conjured them not to obstruct the legionary tribunes in making the levies for a new war so near Italy, and against so powerful a king ; nor hinder the consul from assigning each officer the rank in which he could do the state greatest service. And in case any doubt arose, to refer it to the senate.

AFTER the consul had spoke what he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of the centurions who had appealed to the tribunes of the people, desired permission of the consul and those tribunes to speak a few words to the assembly ; which being granted, he thus began. ‘ Romans, my name is ‘ Sp. Ligustinus, of the tribe Crustumina, and country of the Sabines. My father left me an acre of land and a small cottage, where I was born and educated, and where I now live. As soon as I was fit to marry, he gave me his brother’s daughter to wife. She brought me no portion, but liberty, chastity, and a fecundity that would suit the greatest families. We have six sons, and two daughters both married. Of my six sons four have taken the manly gown, and the two others still wear the prætexta. I first bore arms in the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius, and served two years as a private foldier in the army sent into Macedonia against king Philip. The third year T. Quinctius Flaminius, for a reward of my courage, made me centurion of the tenth company of the hastati. When Philip and the Macedonians were vanquished, and the army brought back and disbanded in Italy, I entered a voluntier for Spain, under the consul M. Porcius Cato ; and that general, who is a more severe judge of merit than all the generals now living, as they well know who have served under him and other generals, deemed

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XXXIV.

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XXXIV.

me worthy to be placed at the head of the first manipule of the hastati. I again became a private voluntier in the army sent against Antiochus and the Ætolians, and it was in this war that Menius Acilius made me first centurion of the first company of the principes. After that king was driven out of Europe, and the Ætolians reduced, we were brought back to Italy, and I continued two years in pay. Then I served two campaigns in Spain, the first under Flaccus, the second under Gracchus. Among others Flaccus carried me back to attend his triumph, as one who had distinguished himself by his valor; and then at the desire of Gracchus I returned to the province. In a few years I have been four times primipilus, and been rewarded four and thirty times for my valor by my generals. I have received six civic crowns, I have served two and twenty campaigns, and am above fifty years old. Though I had not served out my term of years in the field, though my age did not exempt me, yet Licinius, being capable of substituting four of my sons in my stead, I should well deserve to be excused from farther service. But in all that I have said, I have no view but to shew the justice of my cause. For the rest, as long as those who make the levies shall judge me in a condition to bear arms, I shall not desire to be exempted; the legionary tribunes shall place me in what rank they think fit; that is in their power; my part is to take care that no one excel me in courage; and I do not fear to call for witnesses of it on this occasion, both the generals under whom I have served, and all my fellow soldiers. As to you, centurions, who are in the same cause with myself, though you as well as I have appealed to the tribunes of the people, as however during your youth you never opposed the authority of the magistrates and senate, I should think that it were consistent at your years to shew yourselves obedient to the senate and consuls, and think any post honorable,

‘norable, that will enable you to render the common-wealth service.’

WHEN Ligustinus had done speaking, the consul after having given him the highest praises, carried him from the assembly to the senate. Public thanks were given him in the name of that august body, and the legionary tribunes as a reward of his valor made him first centurion of the first legion. The rest of the centurions dropt their appeal and readily answered at the levy. That the magistrates might the sooner set out for their provinces, the *feriæ Latinæ* were celebrated on the first of June. When that festival was over, the prætor Lucretius, having sent before all necessaries for the fleet, set out for Brundisium. Besides the armies levied by the consul, the prætor Galba was ordered to raise four legions with their full complement of foot and horse to guard the city, and to chuse out of the city four legionary tribunes to command them. Besides he was to send to the Latins for 15000 foot and 1200 horse. This army was to march wherever the consul should think proper. Besides the army of Roman citizens and allies granted to the consul Licinius, the senate at his request gave him commission to levy foreign troops; 2000 Ligurians, as many Cretan archers as that country would furnish when demanded, and Numidian horse and elephants. For this purpose L. Posthumius Albinus, Q. Terentius Culleo and C. Aburius were sent ambassadors to Masinissa and the Carthaginians. And to Crete were sent A. Posthumius Albinus, C. Decimius and A. Licinius Nerva.

CHAP.
xxxv.

ABOUT the same time ambassadors arrived from Perses. As the senate and people had declared war against their king and the Macedonians, it was not thought proper to admit them into the city. So they had their audience in the temple of Bellona, and made the following speech: ‘Our master is astonished to see your troops sent into Macedonia. If it was possible to prevail with the senate to recal them, Perses would make what satisfaction the senate
A a 4 * pleased

CHAP.
xxxvi.

CHAP. 'pleased for the injuries done the allies, if they com-
xxxvi. 'plained of any.' Sp. Carvilius, who had been sent
 for the purpose out of Greece by Sicinius, was present
 in the senate. He accused Perſes of having taken
 Perrhoëbia and ſeveral cities of Theſſaly by force,
 and of other injuries which he had either already done
 or was preparing to do. The embaffadors were or-
 dered to give a direct answer to theſe. As they heſi-
 tated, ſaying they had no farther instructions than
 what they had delivered, they were ordered to tell
 their maſter, 'that the conſul Licinius would ſoon
 'arrive with his army in Macedonia, and if the king
 'reſolved in earneſt to make ſatisfaction he might
 'ſend embaffadors to him. But he needed not
 'ſend any more to Rome, for they would not be
 'granted a paſſage through Italy.' Licinius was ap-
 pointed to order them to quit Italy within eleven days,
 and ſend Sp. Carvilius to guard them till they ſhould
 embark. Theſe were the tranſactions at Rome before
 the conſuls ſet out for their provinces. By this time
 Sicinius (who, before his magiſtracy was expired, had
 been ſent to the fleet and army at Brundiſium) landed
 in Epirus with 5000 foot and 300 horſe, and encamp-
 ed near Nymphæa^a in Apollonia. From thence he
 detached the legionary tribunes with 2000 men to
 ſeize the caſtles of the Daſſaretæ Illyrians, upon their
 own ſolicitations for garifons to ſecure them againſt
 the incuſſions of the neighboring Macedonians.

CHAP. A FEW days after the five commiſſioners ſent
xxxvii. into Greece, Q. Marcius, A. Atilius, P. and Ser. Cor-
 nelii Lentuli and L. Decimius landed at Corcyra with
 1000 foot, which they divided among them to guard
 them in the ſeveral ſtates they were to viſit ſeparately.
 Decimius was ſent to Gentius king of Illyricum, with
 orders to ſound him, and if he ſaw him inclined to an
 alliance with the Romans, to perſuade him to take
 part in the war. The Lentuli went to Cephalenia in
 order to croſs over to Peloponneſus, and take a cir-
 cuit round the coaſt of the weſtern ſea before winter.

^a Now Capo Pali, near the Aoiſ.

Marcus and Atilius were to go round Epirus, Ætolia, Thessaly, and then to visit Bœotia and Eubœa. CHAP. XXXVII.
 After that they were to cross over to Peloponnesus, where they appointed to meet the Lentuli. Before they set out from Corcyra, they received letters from Perses, demanding the reason, why the Romans had sent troops into Greece, or seized the cities there. They did not think proper to send him an answer in writing, they only told his messenger by word of mouth, that it was for the defence and security of these cities. The Lentuli went their circuit through Peloponnesus, exhorted all the states without exception to assist the Romans against Perses, with the same goodwill, as they had formerly done in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. However they observed that the assembly murmured at their speech. The Achæans expressed their resentment, because they, who from the very beginning of the first Macedonian war had been firmly attached to the Romans, and avowed enemies to Philip, were on no better footing than the Messenians and Æleans, who had served against the Romans under Antiochus, and lately, when they were incorporated in the Achæan body, had complained of being delivered to the victorious Achæans, as the reward of their conquest.

MARCUS and Atilius, having assembled a diet of the Epirotes at Gitanæ^a, a city about ten miles from the sea, were favorably heard. The Epirotes sent 400 of their youth to guard the Orestans, who had thrown off the Macedonian yoke. From thence they went to Ætolia, where they tarried only a few days, till a new prætor should be chosen in room of the former who was dead. Having conferred that office on Lysiscus, who had given evident proofs of his attachment to the Romans, they next went to Thessaly. Thither repaired deputies from Acarnania and the exiled Bœotians. They ordered the former to tell their constituents, ‘ that they now had a fair opportunity to make amends for their former faults,

^a Of Chaonia, between Oricum and Panormus.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

when deceived by the promises of Philip first and then of Antiochus, they had born arms against the Romans. If they experienced the clemency of the republic when they ill deserved it, they might now experience her munificence by their good services. They reproached the Boeotians, with the alliance they had entered into with Perses. When they laid the blame on Timenias the head of one of the factions, and represented, that some cities had been drawn into it contrary to their inclination, Marcius smartly replied, that shall soon appear; for each city shall have an opportunity to clear itself apart. The diet of Thesfaly was met at Larissa. That nation had ample subject of thanks to the Romans to whom they owed their liberty; and the commissioners were under no less obligations to them for having so vigorously assisted Rome first against Philip and then against Antiochus. The mention of their mutual services, inspired the multitude to decree whatever the Romans pleased. When this diet was broke up, envoys arrived from Perses, relying on the union and hospitality between Philip and Marcius's father. In consequence they first put him in mind of that, and then asked an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that indeed he had heard his father talk of the friendship and hospitality between him and Philip, and that the remembrance thereof had induced him to undertake his present commission. As to the conference, he would not have delay'd it a moment if it had been convenient for him. But as soon as he could he would send couriers to advertise the king when to meet him near the Peneus at the foot of mount Omolus^b on the road to Dium.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

PERSSES, who had retired from Dium to the remotest parts of his dominions, conceived some sparks of hope, on the news of Marcius having said, that he had undertaken his commission out of regard to him. A few days after they repaired to the place appointed. The king was attended by a great train of

^b Part of the *Pelion*, it commanded *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*.

his courtiers and guards. The deputies retinue was as numerous; for a great multitude followed them from Larissa, as did all the deputies, who had repaired thither, through a desire of carrying home certain accounts of what they should hear pass there. Besides people had a great curiosity to be present at this interview between an illustrious king and the deputies of a people lords of the universe. They stood some time in view of each other, divided by the river, and sent several messages backwards and forwards, while each refused to pass the river first. Perseus thought deference was due to the majesty of a crowned head, and the Romans imagined the preference was due to the dignity of the Roman name, especially as Perseus desired the interview. But Marcius removed the difficulty by a jest. 'My surname,' said he, 'is Philip; the younger ought to come to the elder, and the son to the father.' Upon this the king willingly condescended to pass the river. He thought proper to pass with his whole train. But the ambassadors insisted, that only three should come with him, or if he brought all his retinue he should give hostages, that no violence should be committed during the conference. He gave Hippias and Pantaucus, his principal favorites, whom he sent on the deputation to Marcius. Neither were they demanded so much as a pledge of the king's fidelity, as to shew the allies, upon what dishonorable footing the Macedonian treated with the ambassadors of Rome. The salutation on both sides was very friendly and civil, not at all like that of enemies. Then they seated themselves on chairs set on purpose.

AFTER a short silence Marcius said, 'I am sensible, Perseus, that you expect, that we should give you an answer to the letter you wrote to us at Corcyra. In them you demand a reason, why we deputies come with armed guards, and why we put garisons in every city. If we should make no reply to this, I am afraid, you would impute it to haughtiness; and if we inform you of our real motives,

CHAP.

XL.

tives, it will be too grating to your ears. But since
 the infringer of treaties must be brought to reason
 either by remonstrances or force of arms, and as it
 would be agreeable to me that any other person ra-
 ther than myself should be commissioned to make
 war on you, so let the consequence be what it will,
 I will expostulate with you in the same severe man-
 ner I would do with a friend; like Physicians, who
 administer bitter pills for the more certain recovery
 of their patients. The senate thinks, that ever since
 you came to the crown, you have only taken one
 step of the many you ought; you sent ambassadors
 to renew the league, and even this they think had
 better been left undone, than violated as soon as re-
 newed. You have driven Abrupolis, the friend and
 ally of Rome, out of his dominions. You gave the
 assassins of Artetarus a retreat in your kingdom,
 and, to say no more, expressed a malicious joy at
 their having murdered a prince, who was the most
 firmly attached to Rome of all the petty kings of
 Illyricum. Contrary to treaty you crossed Thessaly
 and the Malæan territories, and went to Delphi with
 an army. In violation of the same treaty you sent
 aid to the Byzantines. You entered into a secret al-
 liance with the Bœotians, our allies, and ratify'd it
 by oath, contrary to all justice. I chuse rather to
 ask you, who murdered the two Theban embassa-
 dors, Everfas and Callicrates, on their road to Rome,
 than accuse you as the author of their deaths. Whom
 can we with probability charge with being the au-
 thors of the civil war in Ætolia, and the murder of
 their principal men, but your emissaries? You in
 person laid waste Dolopia. With horror I must
 mention the person whom king Eumenes accuses of
 having very near sacrificed him at Delphi on his
 return from Rome to his own dominions. As for
 the secret practices, which the Brundisian, who used
 to entertain the Roman generals and foreign embas-
 sadors, has revealed, I am certain you were inform-
 ed of them by letters from Rome, and your envoys

at their return gave you an account of them. The only way you had to avoid hearing these things from me, was not to have asked a reason why we sent an army into Macedonia, and garisons to the cities of our allies. But since you put the question to us, not to have answered it all, would have argued more haughtiness, than to tell you our motives with sincerity. In regard of your father's courtesy to mine, I favor your cause, and wish, you would give me some solid ground to be your advocate with the senate.'

TO this the king answered, ' My cause is good, CHAP. XLII.
was it to be pleaded before impartial judges. But I plead before judges who are at the same time my accusers. I know not whether I ought not to glory in some things objected against me, part of them I will not blush to avow, and others I may deny in one word, since they are bare words without proof. For suppose I were this day to be try'd by your laws, what could this Brundisian informer or Eumenes object to me, which would not appear to be rather reproaches than real facts? Had Eumenes, who has been guilty of often oppressing both states and individuals, no enemy but me? Could I find no fitter person to execute my treacherous designs, than Rammius, a fellow whom I had never seen before, or was ever like to see again? But I must also be answerable for the Theban envoys, who it is certain perished at sea, and for the murder of Artetarus. And as to the latter, I am only charged with granting his assassins a safe retreat in my dominions. I will not refuse to plead guilty to this unjust charge, if you will submit to confess, that you are the authors of all the villainies, for which the exiles who take shelter in Rome or Italy are condemned. But if you and all other nations refuse this, I among the rest will do the same. And farther consider, for what end would persons be banished, if no country would give an exile protection? But after all, as soon as you informed me that
' these

CHAP.

XLI.

these assassins were in Macedonia, I ordered them
 to quit my dominions, with strict injunctions never
 to set foot within my frontiers more. Let these suf-
 fice with regard to the unjust crimes I am forced to
 clear myself from. I come now to answer the charge
 brought against me in quality of king, and with
 regard to the treaty between you and me. If that
 treaty contains a clause, which does not leave me at
 liberty to defend myself and my dominions, when
 attacked by an enemy, I certainly violated it
 when I carry'd my arms against Abrupolis the
 ally of the Roman people. But if I was not tied up
 by that treaty, and it is warrantable by the law of
 nations to repel force by force; what ought I to
 have done, when Abrupolis laid waste my domi-
 nions as far as Amphipolis, and carry'd off many
 prisoners of free condition, a great number of slaves
 and several thousands of cattle? Should I have con-
 tinued quiet, and suffered him to penetrate as far as
 Pellæ, and even to my very palace? The war then
 was just; but you say I ought not to have vanquish-
 ed and made him suffer the common calamities of
 a conquered people. Why, since I, who was attack-
 ed, ran the hazard of suffering the same, how can
 he, who was the aggressor, complain of his fate?
 But, Romans, I am not to clear myself in the same
 manner for having chastised the Dolopes. For sup-
 posing they had not deserved it, yet sure I had a
 right to do as I did; since they are my subjects,
 and their country part of my dominions, in virtue
 of a decree by which you subjected it to my father.
 And if I was to give an account of my conduct to-
 wards them, not to you, or to allies, but to such
 as do not approve of acts of cruelty or unjust com-
 mands being imposed even on slaves, could I be
 thought to have exercised more cruelty upon them
 than reason and justice required? For they murder-
 ed Euphranor, whom I had made governor of them
 in so barbarous a manner, that death is the least pu-
 nishment they deserve.

‘ WHEN I went thence to visit Larissa, An-
trona and Pteleon, being so near I took the op-
portunity of going to Delphi, to discharge vows I
lay under. Even in this it is objected as a crime,
that I carried an army with me, with a view to
seize cities, and leave garisons in them; the very
thing for which I complain of you. But pray as-
semble the Greek states through which I marched;
let any one of them complain of injuries done them
by my soldiers; if they do, I will own I had other
views than my pretended sacrifices. But I am
blamed for sending aid to the Ætolians and Byzan-
tines, and making an alliance with the Boeotians.
Be that as it will, I both notified and excused these
steps frequently to your senate, where I met with
several opposers, less favorable than you, Q.
Marcius, my father’s ancient friend and guest. At
this time Eumenes was not come to Rome to ac-
cuse me. By gross misrepresentations, and wrest-
ing the meaning of my intentions, he rendered all
my steps odious and suspicious, and endeavored to
persuade you, that Greece could never be free, or
enjoy the favors you have generously granted it, as
long as the kingdom of Macedon subsists. But a
change will happen in the world, and you will
soon hear some complaining, that Antiochus was
driven beyond mount Taurus to no purpose; that
Asia is more oppressed by Eumenes than by him;
that your allies can never enjoy tranquillity, so
long as there is a royal court at Pergamus, which,
like a citadel, commands all the neighboring na-
tions. I am sensible, Q. Marcius and A. Atilius,
that both your objections and my answers depend
on the ears and fancies of the hearers; and that it
is not so material what I have done, or what were
the real motives of my actions, as in what light
you look upon them. However I am conscious to
myself that I am not in fault, and if I have been
guilty of any act of imprudence, it may be correct-
ed and amended by the present rebuke. This I
am

‘ am certain of, that all I have done may still be
 ‘ rectified, and that none of my actions deserve to
 ‘ be revenged with war and arms : that if you take
 ‘ arms and make war on kings in your alliance, for
 ‘ such trivial causes, which are scarce worth com-
 ‘ plaining of, or expostulating about, you are with-
 ‘ out foundation famous over the world for clemen-
 ‘ cy and a regard to equity.’

CHAP. MARCIUS at that time seemed convinced by
 XLIII. what Perſes ſaid, and adviſed him to ſend an embaf-
 ſy to Rome, being of opinion he ſhould uſe his ut-
 moſt efforts, and not let ſlip any opportunity that
 ſeemed advantageous. Nothing remained but to de-
 termine how the embaffadors might go to Rome
 with ſafety. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary the
 king ſhould aſk a truce ; and though Marcius ear-
 neſtly deſired it, having had no other view in the
 conference, yet he granted it with ſeeming difficulty,
 and as a very great favor. For the Romans had no-
 thing yet ready for the war, neither army nor gene-
 ral ; while Perſes (had not the vain hopes of peace
 dazzled him from ſeeing his real intereſt) had every
 thing ready, and might have entered on action at a
 time very diſadvantageous to his enemy, and favora-
 ble to himſelf. The truce being ſworn to, the con-
 ference ended, and the Roman deputies went into
 Boeotia. The flame had already begun to break out
 in that province ; for ſeveral cities ſeparated from
 the general diet, as ſoon as they were informed of
 the answer the Romans gave their deputies, that they
 would ſoon make it appear what cities had declared
 againſt an alliance with the Macedonian. Deputies
 firſt from Cheronea, and then from Thebes, met the
 commiſſioners on their journey, proteſting, that they
 had not been preſent at the aſſembly, which had en-
 tered into engagements with Macedon. The com-
 miſſioners gave them no answer then, but ordered
 them to follow them to Chalcis. But a great com-
 motion broke out at Thebes on another account. In
 the election of prætor, the party that was worſted, as

if they had been injured, assembled in great crowds at Thebes, where they passed a decree, forbidding the people to recognize the authority of the new magistrates. The latter had retired into voluntary banishment to Thespiæ. But the Thebans soon changing their minds, without hesitation recalled them, where they passed an act of banishment against the twelve, who, though private persons, had held the last assembly. After that the new prætor, Ismenias, a man of high birth and great power, passed sentence of death upon them in their absence. For they had fled to Chalcis, and from thence went to the Roman commissioners at Larissa, where they charged Ismenias with making the alliance with Philip. This difference raised a warm dispute; however both parties repaired to the commissioners, the accused as well as the accusers.

CHAP.
XLIII.

WHEN they arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of each particular city, by a decree of their own, renounced the league with Perses, and made an alliance with the Romans: this was most agreeable to the commissioners; but Ismenias was for Bœotia's embracing the cause of Rome in a national body. This raised such a storm against him, that, if he had not fled to the tribunal of the Romans for refuge, the exiles and their faction had put him to death. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was greatly embroiled; some of it's inhabitants inclining to join Perses, and others the Romans. Besides the inhabitants of Coronea and Haliartus^a came to Thebes to maintain it firm to the league they had made with Perses. But the heads of the city continued so stedfast, and remonstrated, that as far as they could judge by the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, the Roman strength and good fortune would prove superior; that the multitude yielded, and passed a decree for cancelling the alliance made with Perses, and sending the authors of it to Chalcis to make satisfaction to the Romans, ordering a deputation to be sent to put their

CHAP.
XLIV.^a Near the lake Copias.

CHAP. XLIV. city under the protection of the commissioners. Marcius and Atilius received those deputies with pleasure, and advised the rest of the cities to send, each separately, envoys to Rome, to renew their ancient alliance. But previous to every thing else they ordered the exiles to be restored, and by a decree of their own condemned the authors of the alliance with the Macedonian. Having thus destroy'd the Boeotian league, the thing they most desired, they set out for Peloponnesus, together with Ser. Cornelius, whom they had sent for to come to Chalcis, they met the Achaean diet at Argos, where they only demanded 1000 soldiers to garison Chalcis, till the Roman army should arrive in Greece. Marcius and Atilius, having ended their business in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter.

CHAP. XLV. ABOUT the same time three commissioners, Ti. Claudius, P. Posthumius, and M. Junius, were dispatched into Asia, to make a progress round the islands. They exhorted the allies to join the Romans in the war against Perses: the more opulent any state was, the more they labored to gain them, knowing that the weaker states would be led by the stronger. The Rhodians were looked upon as the people of greatest consequence in every respect, as they were able, besides barely favoring them, to bring a great accession of strength in the war, having then in port a fleet of 40 sail, which Hegesilochus, their praetor, had advised them to equip. This man, who was then their chief magistrate, or Prytanes, had by many cogent arguments prevailed with them to lay aside all thoughts of joining with the kings, whose interests they had often espoused in vain, and maintain their alliance with the Romans, who were the only people in the world to be rely'd on, either for strength or fidelity. ' A war with Perses, says he, is on the point of breaking out, and the Romans will expect to see us send them the same assistance by sea, that we furnished them against Antiochus and Philip. We will be hurry'd and obliged

‘ obliged to equip it in haste, at the time it ought to
 ‘ put to sea, if we do not now begin to fit out the
 ‘ ships, and levy sailors to man them. Besides we
 ‘ ought to be more expeditious, that by actions we
 ‘ may efface the prejudices Eumenes raised in the
 ‘ Romans in respect to our fidelity.’ Excited by
 these arguments, they equip’d and man’d a fleet of
 40 sail, which they shewed the Roman commission-
 ers at their arrival, that it might be evident they did
 not wait for their exhortations to join in the war.
 These commissioners contributed greatly to conciliat-
 ing the affections of the Asiatic states. Only Deci-
 mius returned to Rome without effecting any thing,
 and even suspected of having taken bribes from the
 princes of Illyria.

P E R S E S, having retired after the conference
 into Macedonia, sent ambassadors to Rome, to settle
 the terms of peace begun with Marcius. He also
 sent envoys with circular letters to Byzantium and
 Rhodes. The purport of them was the same with
 that of those he sent to all the cities of Greece, ‘ that
 ‘ he had had an interview with the Roman commis-
 ‘ sioners.’ The Roman objections and his answers
 were placed in such a light in these letters, as to
 make it appear he had had the better in the confe-
 rence. His envoys to Rhodes besides added, ‘ that
 ‘ they were confident their master would have peace;
 ‘ for by the advice of Marcius and Atilius, he had
 ‘ sent ambassadors to Rome. But if the Romans
 ‘ persisted in making war contrary to treaty, it was
 ‘ then the business of the Rhodians to exert all their
 ‘ credit and power to restore peace. But if their
 ‘ mediation should be without effect, then they were
 ‘ to take care that one people should not engross all
 ‘ the might and power of the whole world. As
 ‘ this concerned all other states, so in particular the
 ‘ Rhodians, who excelled them all in dignity and
 ‘ power. If no regard be had to any other but the
 ‘ Romans, your power will become dependent, and
 ‘ yourselves slaves.’ The letters and speech of the

CHAP.

XLVI.

envoys were heard with attention, but were not prevalent enough to make the Rhodians change their minds; for the better party now began to sway every thing by their authority. Accordingly this answer was given them by decree, ‘ that they earnestly wished for peace; but in case of war, they beg’d the king neither to expect or ask any thing of them that might be prejudicial to their ancient alliance, which they had obtained with Rome by many and signal services both in peace and war.’ The envoys on their return from Rhodes went round the cities of Bœotia, Thebes, Coronea and Haliartus, who seem’d to have been drawn off from their alliance with Perses, and joined the Romans against their wills. They made no impression on the Thebans, though they were exasperated against the Romans, for having condemned their chiefs, and restored their exiles. The Coroneans and Haliartii, from their inbred affection to the king, sent deputies into Macedonia, to beg a garison to defend them against the tyranny of the haughty Thebans. The king told their deputies, ‘ that the truce he had made with the Romans ty’d him up from sending them a garison. However he advised them to defend themselves against the injuries of the Thebans in such a manner, as not to give the Romans cause to use them with rigor.’

CHAP.

XLVII.

MARCIUS and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported their commission in the capitol. We glory, said they, in nothing more, than in having over-reached Perses in concluding a truce, and flattered him with the vain hopes of peace. For he was so well and we so ill prepared for the war, that he might have seized all the advantageous posts, before we could transport our army into Greece. By the truce we have gained time for the republic to make the necessary preparations, while he will be no forwarder than he was. We have by artful address disunited the body of the Bœotians in such a manner, that it will be impossible for them

‘ them ever after to join the Macedonian with general consent.’ The majority of the senate approved of their prudent conduct; but the old senators, who had been educated in the ancient honest principles, declared, ‘ they saw nothing Roman in the conduct of the deputies. Their ancestors, relying more on true valor than stratagem, did not conquer the nations by ambushes, and battles in the night; or by feigned retreats, and then returning to surprize the enemy off their guard. They used openly to declare war, before they entered upon it; nay, often named the spot in which they were to terminate it by dint of sword. From the same virtuous principle, they informed Pyrrhus of the physician who laid snares for his life, and delivered up to the Falisci the wretch who had betray’d their children. These were true Roman manners, not the fraudulent cunning of Carthaginians, or artifices of the Greeks, who reckoned it more glorious to overreach an enemy, than conquer him by open force. Indeed artifice sometimes succeeded better at the present than valor; but he alone could be said to be for ever vanquished, who was obliged to confess, that he was conquered in a just and pious war, not by fraud or chance, but by force of arms fairly try’d in the field.’ Thus spoke the old senators, who could not relish these modern maxims of policy. However that party, which prefer’d the useful to the honest, carry’d the approving of Marcius’s embassy, and that he should be sent back with a convoy of quinqueremes into Greece, to complete what he had begun, and do every thing he should judge for the interest of the republic. They likewise dispatched A. Atilius to seize Larissa in Theffaly, fearing lest upon the expiration of the truce, Perses should, by sending a garison to that important place, become master of the capital of the country. Atilius was ordered to get 2000 men for this expedition from C. Sicinius. At the same time P. Lentulus, who had returned from Achaia, was ordered with 300 Italians to

Thebes, that the Romans might be masters of Boeotia.

CHAP. XLVIII. AFTER taking these precautions, and though the war was determined upon, yet the senate gave audience to Perſes's embassadors. They repeated almost the ſame reaſons, which their maſter had urged at the conference. In particular they endeavored to clear the king of the foul attempt he was accuſed to have made upon Eumenes, but without being able to convince the fathers, the fact being too notorious to be palliated. The reſt of their ſpeech conſiſted of humble entreaties. But the ſenate heard them with minds, that could be neither convinced or mollified. They were ordered to quit Rome directly, and Italy within a month. After that the conſul Licinius, who had got Macedonia for his province, was ordered to appoint the rendezvous of his army as ſoon as poſſible. The prætor Lucretius, who was to command the fleet, ſet out from the city with 40 quinqueremes, for it was thought proper to keep ſeveral of the ſhips that had been refitted, to be employ'd in ſeveral uſes near the city. This prætor detached before his brother Lucretius in a quinquereme, with orders as ſoon as he had been joined by the ſhips the allies were obliged to furniſh, to meet the fleet at Cephallenia. The latter having got one trireme from the Rhegians, two from the Locrians, and four from the Veliates, he coaſted along Italy, and doubling the fartheſt cape in Calabria, got into the Ionian Sea, and landed at Dyrrachium. There he found ten barks belonging to that port, 12 to the Iſſæans, and 54 to Gentius, king of Illyricum. Pretending he believed they had been got ready only to ſerve the Romans, he carried them all away, and in three days arrived at Corcyra, from whence he ſailed immediately to Cephallenia. The prætor C. Lucretius ſet ſail from Naples, and in five days entered the port of Cephallenia, where he lay for ſome days, to land the troops, and wait for the tranſports.

CHAP. XLIX. ABOUT that time the conſul Licinius, after having

having offered his vows in the capitol, set out from the city in his paludamentum. This ceremony of a consul's departure was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people; but more especially on an important war, and against an enemy formidable for valor or fortune. Besides many individuals who might come out of compliment to the consul who sets out, the citizens are attracted to this sight by their curiosity to see the general, to whose conduct and courage they confide the fate of the republic. Anxious thoughts occur then to their minds concerning the success of the war, which is various and uncertain. They represent to themselves ' the defeats which have happened through ' the ignorance and temerity of generals; and, on ' the contrary, the victories which have been gained ' by their valor and good conduct. What mortals, ' say they, can know the mind or fate of the consul, who is upon the point of setting out? and ' whether we shall see him return with his victorious ' army, and ascend in triumph to the same capitol ' from whence he departs, after having offered in it ' his prayers to the Gods, or whether the enemy will ' not have that cause of rejoicing?' The ancient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who, among other exploits, had rendered himself famous by the war he had made with the Romans, highly exalted the reputation of Perseus, against whom the consul was marching; and every body was sensible, that from his ascending the throne, an approaching war had been universally expected. Full of these thoughts the citizens in crowds conducted him out of the city. Two legionary tribunes, C. Claudius and Q. Mucius, who had both been consuls, went to serve under him; with three other illustrious young Romans, Publius Lentulus, and two called Manlius Acidinus, one the son of Marius, and the other the son of Lucius. The consul repaired with them to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and having passed the sea with all his troops, arrived

at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

CHAP.

L.

A FEW days before, Perſes, being affured by his embaffadors at their return from Rome, that it was in vain to hope for peace, held a grand council. Opinions were divided in it; ſome believed it neceſſary, either to pay a tribute, if required, or to recede ſome part of his dominions, if the Romans inſiſted upon it: in a word, to ſuffer, for obtaining peace, all that might be ſupportable, rather than expoſe his perſon and kingdom to the danger of entire ruin. That if part of his dominions were left him, time and occaſion might produce favorable conjunctures, which might enable him, not only to recover all he ſhould have loſt, but render him the terror of thoſe who now made him tremble. The majority were of a very different opinion; they maintained, ‘ that if he ceded ever ſo little, he might
‘ lay his account to loſe his whole kingdom ſoon. It
‘ was neither money nor tracts of land that the Ro-
‘ mans wanted. But they knew that all human
‘ things, eſpecially the greateſt kingdoms and ſtates,
‘ were ſubject to many revolutions. They had
‘ broken the power of the Carthaginians, and ſet
‘ up over their heads, and in their neighborhood, a
‘ potent monarch. They had driven Antiochus and
‘ his poſterity beyond mount Taurus. There was
‘ no longer any kingdom, but Macedonia, capable
‘ of giving the Romans umbrage, becauſe, being
‘ ſituated in their neighborhood, it could, on the
‘ firſt blow they might receive, reſume it’s priſtine
‘ vigor, and revive in it’s kings the ambition of it’s
‘ predeceſſors. He ought now to conſider, whiſt
‘ matters were not come to extremities, whether, by
‘ ceding different parts of his dominions one after
‘ another, he would ſee himſelf at length ſtrippt of
‘ his whole power, driven out of his kingdom, and
‘ obliged to aſk the Romans permiſſion, in Samo-
‘ thracia, or ſome other iſland, to paſs the reſt of
‘ his days in contempt and miſery; or whether he
‘ would

‘ would chuse, by taking arms for the defence of
 ‘ his fortunes and glory, like a brave man, to ex-
 ‘ pose himself valiantly to whatever fate the Gods
 ‘ might ordain in respect to him; or in case he
 ‘ should be victorious, to deliver the universe from
 ‘ the yoke of the Romans. Would it be more sur-
 ‘ prizing for him to drive them out of Greece, than
 ‘ that they had driven Hannibal out of Italy? It
 ‘ would be the highest disgrace for Perſes, after hav-
 ‘ ing defended his kingdom with valor, against a
 ‘ brother who had unjustly disputed it with him,
 ‘ meanly to give it up to strangers, who were for
 ‘ depriving him of it. That, lastly, though peace
 ‘ were preferable to war, all the world agreed, there
 ‘ was nothing more shameful than to give up empire
 ‘ without resistance, and nothing more glorious than
 ‘ to have left no means untried for retaining it.’

THIS council was held at Pella, in the ancient
 palace of the kings of Macedonia. Since you judge
 thus, said Perſes, let us make war, and pray the Gods
 to be propitious to us. At the same time he sent cir-
 cular letters to all his generals, to assemble their troops
 at Citium^a, a city of Macedonia. He himself, after
 sacrificing 100 victims to Minerva, the patroness of
 the descendants of Hercules, repaired to that place
 with all his guards and court. Thither all the Mace-
 donian and foreign troops were already arrived, and
 had encamped without the city. He drew them all
 up under arms in the plain. They amounted in all to
 40000 men, one half of which were Phalangites. Hip-
 pias the Beroean^b commanded them. There were also
 two bodies, picked out for their strength and youth,
 who were armed with little bucklers, and also called
 legions by the Macedonians. At the head of these
 were Leonatus and Thrasippus of Euryſtus. 3000 o-
 ther soldiers armed with the same bucklers were com-
 manded by Antiphilus of Edeſſa. The rest of the
 army, to the number of about 3000 Pæonians^c, Pa-

CHAP.

LI.

^a Citium stood above *Theſſalonica*,
 between the *Kerataſer* and the *Caſtal-*
lus.

^b *Beroea*, a city of *Emathia*,
^c Originally *Thracians*.

CHAP.

LI.

toreans^d, Parstrymonians^e, (subject to Thrace) and Agrians^f, with several Thracians, had been levied and armed by Didas the Pæonian, who had murdered the young prince Demetrius. He had also 2000 Gauls under the command of Asclepiodorus, 3000 native Thracians from Heraclea of Sintium, commanded by a general of their own, as many Cretans under command of Sufus from Phalafarna^g, and Syllus from Gnoſſus, and 500 Greeks of different nations, commanded by Leonidas the Lacedæmonian. He was ſaid to be deſcended from the kings of Macedonia, and had been condemned to baniſhment by a full diet of the Achæans, for keeping a correſpondence with Perſes. Laſtly, he had a company of about 500 men, partly Bœotians, partly Ætolians, commanded by Lyco an Achæan. All theſe auxiliaries of different countries and nations compoſed a body of about 12000 men. He had alſo drawn together 3000 Macedonian horſe. Cotys, ſon of Seuthas and king of the Odryſæ, joined him with 1000 choice cavalry, and the ſame number of foot. His whole army conſiſted of 39000 foot and 4000 horſe. It is ſufficiently certain, that no king of Macedonia ever had ſo numerous an army, except that which Alexander the Great led into Aſia.

CHAP.

LII.

TWENTY-SIX years had now paſſed ſince peace had been granted Philip at his requeſt. During all this time Macedonia had enjoy'd great tranquillity, and produced a numerous race, the greateſt part of which were now fit for ſervice. The ſlight rencounters they had with the neighboring Thracians, rather exerciſed than wore them out, and kept them conſtantly inured to arms: By this means it came to paſs, that every thing was ready for the war, which Philip firſt and Perſes next projected againſt the Romans. This whole army moved into the plain, not with ſo much regularity as at an exact review, but that they might not ſeem to have merely ſtood under arms.

^d Their country lay in the north part of *Macedon*, and was ſurrounded with mountains.

^e Near the *Strymon*.

^f In the eaſt of *Thrace*.

^g *Centarini*, on the weſt of *Criti*.

However, armed as they were, the king assembled them. He himself ascended a throne with his two sons on each hand. The eldest of them, named Philip, was really his natural brother, and only his son by adoption, but the second, named Alexander, was his german son. Then exhorting his troops to behave like brave men, he laid before them the injuries which the Romans had done his father and himself. 'As to my father, said he, they forced him by all kinds of insolencies, to have recourse to arms, but death surprized him amidst his preparations for the war. As to myself, they sent at the same time embassadors to my court, and troops to seize the cities of Greece. By a fallacious conference under pretext of renewing the peace, they amused me a whole winter in order to gain time to make their preparations. Their consul is now coming with two legions, consisting each of 6000 foot and 300 horse, with an equal number of allies. When all the auxiliaries sent them by Eumenes and Masinissa are arrived, they will not amount to more than 7000 foot and 200 horse. Now I have informed you of the strength of the enemy, consider yourselves, how much you are superior in number and quality to undisciplined troops, hastily raised for this very war, whereas from your infancy you have been trained to arms, being exercised and inured by many wars. Suppose the Romans are assisted by Lydians, Phrygians and Numidians, I have still Thracians and Gauls, most warlike people. They have no other arms but what their beggarly troops furnish for themselves; but you Macedonians have yours out of my magazines, where they were laid up by the care and at the expence of my father for many years. They are at a great distance from their provisions, and all they get is exposed to the hazard of the seas; but, beside the produce of my mines, I have laid up money and corn for ten years. Every necessary that could be bestowed by the bounty of the Gods, and care of a king, the Macedonians have in the
greatest

CHAP.

LII.

‘greatest plenty. You must shew the same marshal
 ‘ardor that your ancestors did, when after having sub-
 ‘dued all Europe, they passed into Asia, and with
 ‘their swords opened a passage into parts of the
 ‘world till then unknown, and did not stop their
 ‘conquest till they came to the red sea, and found no
 ‘more people to conquer. But indeed the question is
 ‘not now about extending our dominions to the ut-
 ‘most limits of India, but fortune hath declared a
 ‘trial of skill for the possession of Macedonia. The
 ‘Romans made war upon my father under the spe-
 ‘cious pretext of delivering Greece. But now they
 ‘avowedly seek to enslave Macedonia, that they
 ‘may have no king in their neighborhood, nor
 ‘leave arms in the hands of a people famed for
 ‘warlike exploits. For these you must deliver up
 ‘with your king and kingdom, if you do not resist
 ‘with vigor, but submit to whatever they please to
 ‘command you.’

CHAP.

LIII.

DURING his discourse, frequent hums of ap-
 plause were heard, but at these last words they raised
 such a noise, while some shewed their indignation,
 some uttered menaces, and others exhorted the king
 to entertain the best hopes, that he was obliged to
 break off his speech. So he only added an order for
 them to be in readiness to march, as he was informed
 the Romans were already advancing from Nymphæ-
 um. When the assembly was dismissed he went to
 give audience to the deputies of the Macedonian cities.
 Each of them came to offer to contribute what sums
 they were able, and promise to furnish provisions for
 the war. The king thanked them, but would not ac-
 cept their offers, saying he had sufficient of both in
 his own stores, except carriages for the great quantity
 of weapons and machines of war, and the baggage of
 the army. Then he marched all his troops to Eor-
 dea ^a, and encamped next day at a lake called Bego-
 nites ^b. Next day he advanced to Elymea ^c, on the

^a A city of *Mygdonia*.^b Unknown.^c On the west of *Macedon*, on the
 borders of *Pelagonia* and *Tripolitis*.

banks of the river Haliacmon^d. After this, having passed the Cambunian^e mountains by a narrow defile, he came to a province called Tripoli, from three cities in it, Azorum, Pythium and Dolyche. These cities hesitated some time, because they had given hostages to the Larissæans; but overcome by their present fears, they at length submitted. Perseus used them very graciously, not doubting but the Perrhœbians would follow their example, and indeed their capital opened its gates on his first approach without hesitation. But he was obliged to besiege Cyrretiaë, whose inhabitants running furiously to their gates, repulsed a considerable part of his troops the first day, but the second he attacked it with all his forces, and before night they submitted.

CHAP.
LIH.

THE next town he came to was Mylæ, so strongly fortified, that its inhabitants, imagining it impregnable, became quite audacious. They were not content with shutting their gates against the king, but even insulted him and his Macedonians. This incensed him to such a degree that he attacked it with more vigor, and they thereby despairing of pardon made a more obstinate resistance. In consequence it was attacked and defended for three days with great bravery. The Macedonians, having numbers sufficient to relieve their detachments, found little difficulty in continuing the assault; but the besieged being obliged to defend their walls day and night without respite or relief, were quite spent not only with wounds, but want of sleep and uninterrupted fatigue. On the fourth day the scaling ladders were apply'd on all sides, and the gate attacked with greater vigor. The besieged being driven from their walls, ran to the gate and made a sally. But as this step was the effect of unadvised rage rather than of confidence in their strength, as they were but few and fatigued, the enemy soon made them fly, and entered their gate pell-mell with them. Thus the town was taken and rifled.

CHAP.
LIV.

^d Divides *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, and then falls into the *Thermaic* gulph. and the *Deuopes*, from *Pelasgiotis* in *Thessaly*.

^e They divide *Macedonia propria*

CHAP.

LIV.

Such persons of free condition as survived the slaughter, were sold for slaves. After Perſes had ſacked the greateſt part of the city, he decamped and came to Phalanna^a, and the next day to Gyrton^b. As ſoon as he heard that Rufus and Hippiaſ prætors of Theſſaly had thrown themſelves into the latter with a garriſon, he paſſed it without attempting to beſiege it. Then he ſurprized Elatia and Gonni, while their inhabitants were in a conſternation at his ſudden approach. Both theſe cities, but particularly the latter, ſtand in the entrance to the valley of Tempe. Therefore he left a ſtrong garriſon of horſe and foot in it, and fortify'd it with a triple ditch and rampart. He himſelf marched to Sycurium^c, where he reſolved to wait the arrival of the enemy. At the ſame time he iſſued orders to his army to forage in the enemy's territories which lay round it. For it ſtands at the foot of mount Oſſa, and facing to the ſouth, has the plains of Theſſaly before it, and Macedonia with Magnesia behind it. Beſides theſe advantages, it had a fine air and abounded with ſprings of running water.

CHAP.

LV.

DURING the time the Roman conſul, in order to lead his army into Theſſaly, croſſed Epirus, where the ways were eaſy enough. But when he had entered Athamania, the rough and almoſt impracticable country did not permit his making long marches, and with great difficulty he arrived at Gomphi. If Perſes had taken his time to have advanced in order of battle to meet an army newly raiſed, and of which both the men and horſes were enfeebled by fatigues, the Romans themſelves confeſſed, that they could not have fought him, without expoſing themſelves to an inevitable defeat. When Licinius ſaw that he had reached Gomphi without fighting, the joy of having got ſafe through ſo dangerous a paſſage, created in him a contempt of an enemy who knew ſo little how to take his advantages. When he had finiſhed his ſacrifices, and diſtributed proviſions to his troops, he

^a In *Pelaſgiotis*, between the *Pe-
nus* to the north, and mount *Pierius*
to the ſouth.

^b In eaſt *Theſſaly* near the former.

^c In *Magnesia* near *Theſſaly*.

ſtay'd

stay'd a few days to refresh his men and beasts. Being informed the Macedonians over-ran Theffaly, and plundered the lands of their allies, as he found his troops sufficiently recovered of their fatigues, he march'd towards Larissa, and encamped on the banks of the river Peneus, about three miles from Tripoli. Eumenes at this time arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: the fourth, named Phileteres, was left at Pergamos for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. They had left 2000 foot at Chalcis under Athenæus. Some troops also arrived from all the states of Greece, but so inconsiderable that they have been forgot. The Apolloniates sent about 300 horse and 100 foot, and the Ætolians about one troop, which was all their country could produce. Likewise all the Theffalian cavalry, which encamped separately, and did not excede 300. The Achæans sent 1000 foot, mostly Cretans.

ABOUT the same time the prætor C. Lucretius, who commanded the fleet at Cephalenia, order'd his brother Marcus to sail to Chalcis above Malea, while he himself on board a trireme went to the gulph of Corinth to prevent the motions of the Bœotians. As he was infirm he made but slow progress in his voyage. Marcus hearing, on his arrival at Chalcis, that P. Lentulus was besieging Haliartus, he sent him orders, in the name of the prætor, to raise the siege. That lieutenant, who had undertaken that siege with the Bœotian youth of the faction which sided with the Romans, abandoned the enterprize. However the place was immediately invested again. For Marcus sat down before it with 10000 Italian marines and 2000 Pergamenians under command of Athenæus. As they were on the point of attacking it, the prætor arriv'd from Creusa. About the same time the allies ships arriv'd at Chalcis, two Carthaginian quinqueremes, and two triremes from Heraclea of Pontus, four from Chalcedon, the same number from Samos, and five quadriremes from Rhodes. As there was no reason

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reason for keeping a fleet at sea, the prætor dismissed these allies. In the mean time Q. Marcius, after having taken Alope, and insulted Larissa, surnamed Cremaste, arrived with his fleet at Chalcis. In this state of affairs in Bœotia, Perſes continued, as we have already observed, in his camp at Sycurium, whither having carried corn from all the country round, he sent detachments to ravage the lands of Pheræ. By this means he thought to intercept such Romans far from their camp, as should be sent to succor their allies. But perceiving this did not alarm them, he divided all the booty, except the prisoners, (and indeed it consisted mostly of cattle) among his troops to regale them.

CHAP.

LVII.

THE consul and the king both held a council at the same time, to determine where they should open the campaign. The king, flushed with having been suffered to ravage the lands of Pheræ without opposition, was for marching without loss of time to attack the Romans in their camp. The Romans rightly perceived, that their slowness and delays would lessen them in the opinion of the allies, and reproached themselves with not having aided those of Pheræ. Whilst the consul with the principal officers, Eumenes and Attalus, were deliberating in the council how to act, news was brought them on a sudden, that Perſes approached with his whole army. Upon this the council broke up. The signal for the soldiers to stand to their arms was immediately given, and 100 horse were detached with as many foot-archers to view the enemy. Perſes, about ten in the morning, finding himself only a short half league from the Roman camp, made his infantry halt, and advanced with his cavalry and light armed troops, attended by Cotys, and the other auxiliary generals. The two wings were composed for most part of Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and about 150 light troops, either Mysians or Cretans. The king halted, being uncertain of the enemies number. Then he detached two troops of Thracians, and as many of Macedoni-

donians, with two cohorts of Cretans. As the number was very near equal, and neither side detached new troops to their support, the skirmish ended without either party being victorious. Perses returned to his camp at Sycurium. The next day at the same hour, he again made all his troops advance towards the camp of the Romans. They were followed with carriages laden with water; for there was none for almost twelve miles, and the roads were very dusty, by which the troops might have suffered extremely by thirst, if they should have engaged at their first coming up. The Romans keeping close, and having even made their advanced guards retire within their lines, the king's troops returned to their's. They did the same thing several days together, in hopes that the Roman cavalry would be detached to harass their rear, and that then, facing suddenly about, they should bring them to a battle at a considerable distance from their camp. And as the king's horse was much superior to that of the Romans, as well as his light armed troops, he assured himself of giving a good account of them.

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THIS design not succeeding, the king encamp'd nearer the enemy, at the distance of about five miles from them. Having drawn up his infantry, at day-break, in the same place where he had usually done so the preceding days, he led all his cavalry and light armed troops towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which seemed nearer than usual, and raised by a greater number of troops, gave the alarm there; and the first who brought the news could scarce be believed, because, during several days before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning; whereas it was now only sun-rise. But the repeated clamors and hurrying of many from the gate, who declared the same thing, leaving no room to doubt it any longer, the camp was in great confusion. The officers of all ranks repaired to the consul's tent, and the soldiers ran precipitately to theirs. Perses had drawn up his troops on an eminence called Callicinus,

CHAP.
LVIII.

CHAP. at less than five hundred paces from the consul's lines.

LVIII.

Cotys, a king of Thrace, commanded the left wing with all the cavalry of his nation; the light armed troops were distributed from space to space along the front. The Macedonian horse, mingled with some Cretan squadrons, formed the right. Milo of Berea commanded the light troops, and Meno of Antigonía the cavalry and all that wing. On the sides and within the two wings were the household troops, and some chosen auxiliaries of different nations. This corps was commanded by Patrocles of Antigonía, and Didas governor of Pæonia. The king was in the centre with the body of horse that always attended his person, and he posted before him the slingers and javelineers, who might amount in all to about 400, at the head of whom he had put Iones the Thessalian, and Timanoras the Dolopian. The consul having drawn up his foot within his lines, made only his horse and light armed troops quit them, which he drew up before his entrenchments. On the right wing, consisting of all the Italian cavalry, commanded C. Licinius, the consul's brother; and on the left, composed of cavalry of the Greek allies, M. Valerius Lævinus; both were intermingled with light armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with 200 chosen Gaulish horse, and 300 Cyrtians belonging to Eumenes. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted a little beyond the left wing. King Eumenes, and Attalus his brother, with all their troops, were formed in the space between the camp and the rear ranks.

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THIS was the disposition of the horse and light troops of both armies, which were very near equal in number. The action began by the slingers and javelineers, who were posted in the front. After this the Thracians, like wild beasts who had been coop'd up, and in effect only more fierce, set up a great shout, and fell furiously upon the right wing of the Italians, who, though all veteran and intrepid soldiers, were broken by this violent charge. For the

Thracian

Thracian foot beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, and sometimes cut the hams of their horses, and run them into their sides. Perfes in person attacked the Greeks in the centre, put them into disorder at the first charge, and pursued them vigorously. The Thessalians who were posted a little way from the left wing as a body of reserve, and which in the beginning of the action had only been spectators, were a great support to their party when it began to give way. For this cavalry, retiring before the king slowly, and in good order, after it had joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave those who fled and that prince a secure retreat in their ranks; and seeing the enemy did not pursue them so close, they even ventured to support and reanimate them. The Macedonians, who had broke in the pursuit, were afraid to hazard a new attack with troops that marched in good order. Had the king, who was thus victorious in the battle between the cavalry, improved his success, he had gained a complete victory. For as he was encouraging his men, the phalanx came seasonably to his relief. Hippias and Leonatus, having been apprized of the advantage gained by the cavalry, of their own accord, and not to be wanting to so daring an enterprize, led it out in all haste to join him. Whilst that prince fluctuated between hope and fear in so critical a conjuncture, Evander of Crete, whom he had employ'd to assassinate Eumenes at Delphi, having seen the phalanx advancing with colors flying, ran immediately to Perfes, and exhorted him not to suffer himself to be too far transported by a slight advantage, or enter rashly upon a new action unnecessarily, in which he would risque all. If he lay still content with his first success, it would enable him either to conclude an honorable peace, or bring over to his party a greater number of allies, to join with him in the war, if he should chuse to prosecute it. The king was most inclined to this opinion. Accordingly he praised Evander, and

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founded a retreat for his cavalry, ordering his infantry to march back to their camp.

CHAP. LX. ON the side of the Romans there fell this day 200 horse, and not less than 2000 foot, besides 200 troopers taken prisoners; whereas Perſes did not lose above 20 horse, and 40 foot. The victors entered their camp full of joy, and especially the Thracians expressed insolent mirth by singing, and in a kind of triumph carrying the heads of the enemies they had killed upon the points of their spears. But the Romans were in the utmost affliction for the defeat, and struck with terror expected every moment that the enemy would attack them in their camp. Eumenes advised them to retire to the other side of the Peneus, in order to cover their troops with that river, till they had recovered from their consternation. The consul looking on this as a shameful confession of fear, would not at first hearken to it; but, however, overcome by reason, he made his troops pass without noise in the night, and encamped on the other side of the river. Perſes the next day advanced to give the enemy battle: when he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he confessed the error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them vigorously after their defeat: but that it was still a greater, in having remained unactive all the night. For without making any part else move, had he only detached his light armed troops against them whilst they were passing the river with precipitation, he might without difficulty have cut off a great part of their army. The Romans being safely entrenched were no longer afraid, but the loss of their reputation afflicted them extremely. The whole council of war, which the consul had called, laid the blame upon the Ætolians. They said, it was they who had taken the alarm, the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the principal persons of their nation had been seen to fly first.

CHAP. LXI. BUT in a full assembly the Thessalians were praised, and their leaders rewarded for their valor.

Then

Then the spoils of the enemy were brought before the king; above 1500 shields, 1000 cuirasses and coats of mail, with a great number of helmets, swords and darts of all kinds. Perſes beſtow'd them among his officers; to ſome ſplendid arms, to ſome horſes, and to others priſoners. Theſe were indeed great loſſes, but much exaggerated by the king in a ſpeech he made to his army when aſſembled. ' Your late victory is a ſure pledge of complete victory in the war. You have routed the beſt of the enemy's troops; their cavalry, which they boaſted of as invincible. This corps conſiſts of their principal youth, it is the ſeminary of their ſenators; from it they chuſe their conſuls, whom they afterwards ſtile fathers; from it they chuſe their generals; you have juſt now divided their ſpoils. You may gain as complete a victory over their legions. They eſcaped from you by a flight during the night, and like perſons ſhipwrecked in their panic ſwam over the Peneus, covering the whole face of the water. But we will paſs it in purſuit of thoſe fugitives, with greater eaſe than they did in their fright, and as ſoon as we have got over, we will attack their lines, which we would have been maſters of this very day, if they had not fled. Or if their infantry reſolve to ſtand a battle, you may expect the ſame ſucceſs againſt them, that you had againſt their horſe.' The victorious cavalry, who carried the ſpoils of the enemy on their ſhoulders, heard this ſpeech with great alacrity, judging of the future by the paſt. And their infantry, eſpecially the phalanx, fired with emulation, were earneſt to ſignalize themſelves, and wiſhed for an opportunity of gaining equal glory over the enemy. Perſes, after having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, ſet out next day, and encamped at Mopſium^a, an eminence in the midway between Tempe and Lariffa.

THE Romans, without quitting the banks of the Peneus, removed to a more ſecure poſt. Here

^a In Theſſaly.

the Numidian prince Misagenes joined them with 1000 horse, as many foot, and 22 elephants. In the mean time Perſes held a council of war to deliberate on the ſtate of his affairs, and as the audaciouſneſs his victory had inſpired him with was abated, ſome of his courtiers ventured to adviſe him to uſe the advantage he had gained for obtaining an honorable peace, rather than relying on vain hopes precipitate himſelf into irretrievable miſfortunes. They repreſented to him, ‘ that it was the characteriſtic of a wiſe man, and one who deſerved victory, to ſet bounds to his good ſucceſs, and not rely too much on the preſent ſerenity of fortune. That he ought to ſend embaſſadors to the conſul, to renew the treaty upon the ſame conditions on which Flaminus, when victorious, had granted peace to his father Philip. He could not terminate the war more gloriouſly for himſelf, than after ſo memorable a battle, or hope for a more favorable opportunity of concluding a laſting peace, than when the defeat the Romans have received may render them better diſpoſed to come to an accommodation. And if the Romans, through their natural preſumption, ſhould reject an equitable peace, both Gods and men would be witneſſes of Perſes’s moderation, and their obſtinacy.’ The king was always diſpoſed to hear ſuch wiſe remonſtrances, and the majority of his council approved the advice. Accordingly embaſſadors were ſent to the conſul, who aſſembled a numerous council to give them audience. They ſaid, ‘ they came to aſk peace, and promiſed that Perſes would pay the Romans the ſame tribute that Philip had done, and cede all the cities and territories and places which his father had ceded. Thus ſpoke the deputies. When they withdrew, the council deliberated on their propoſal, and the conſtancy of the Romans prevailed. For it was their cuſtom, to ſhew all the aſſurance of good fortune in adverſity, and moderation in proſperity. They concluded on this anſwer, ‘ that they would gra

Perfes peace on no other terms, than that he should leave it to the senate to dispose of his person and all Macedonia, as they should think fit. When the deputies reported this answer, the king's council, who were unacquainted with the Roman manners, were surprised at their obstinacy, and most of them were for making no farther mention of peace, saying, they would soon be obliged to ask themselves what they refused when offered. But Perfes was under dreadful apprehensions at this pride, which he saw was founded on a consciousness of their superiority. He thought now of buying a peace, and solicited the consul with offering a more considerable tribute. But seeing he would abate nothing of the demands in his first answer, and despairing of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, resolved once more to try the hazard of war.

THE news of the battle of the cavalry spreading through Greece, discovered the dispositions of that people. Not only those who had sided with the Macedonian, but many of those who lay under the greatest obligations to the Romans, even those who had experienced the oppression and pride of the Macedonian kings, received the accounts with pleasure. Indeed the joy of most of them had no better source than mere caprice, which is commonly shewn even at the combats of gladiators, where people always favor the weakest side. About the same time the prætor Lucretius besieged Haliartus in Boeotia. And though the besieged neither had nor hoped for any foreign assistance, except some Coronæan infantry, which had thrown themselves into the place at the beginning of the siege, yet they made a gallant resistance, far above what could have been expected from so small a number. For they made frequent sallies upon the works, beat down the rams, as they advanced, to the ground, with masses of lead, which they worked with counterpoises; and, if it chanced that the enemy, who pushed with the ram, avoided their strokes, they immediately run up a new wall

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LXIII.

in place of the breach with the rubbish and materials of itself. When the prætor saw the works met with little success, he ordered scaling ladders to be distributed to every company, in order to make a general assault. He imagined he had numbers sufficient for this, as it was vain, or rather impossible to take the town on that side where it was guarded by a morass. He in person advanced at the head of 2000 chosen men against a breach that had been made in a courtine flanked by two towers. His view was, while he endeavored to enter the breach, and the besieged ran thither to oppose him, the walls, being without defenders, might be scaled on some other quarter. The inhabitants were ready to give him a warm reception. For having piled up bundles of dry fascines above the ruins, they stood behind them with lighted flambeaux, often threatening to set them on fire, in order to gain time, while they stopt the enemy by the fire, to build a new wall within. But an unlucky incident hindered them from putting their design in execution; for all of a sudden there fell so great a shower, that they could not easily light the fascines; and when they were lighted, the rain extinguished the fire. In consequence the assailants by drawing aside the smoking faggots, opened themselves a passage; and as all the besieged had turned to defend this one post, the walls were scaled in several places. In the first confusion the Romans killed all they met, old men and children, without distinction; but the warriors retired to the citadel. Next day, being reduced to despair, they surrendered, and were sold for slaves. They amounted to about 2500. All the decorations, statues, paintings, and rich booty, were carried aboard the fleet, and then the city was razed to the foundation. Then the prætor marched his army to Thebes, and taking it without fighting, restored it to the exiles, and the partizans of the Romans, selling all the opposite faction, as such as favored Perses and the Macedonians. After these exploits in Bœotia, he returned to his fleet on the coast,

DUF

DURING these transactions Perſes continued ſeveral days in his camp at Sycurium. When he was informed that the Romans had haſtily carry'd to their camp great quantities of corn in ſheaves, and that in order to come at the pure grain, each ſoldier cut off the ears with ſickles before his tent, by which means all the ſtreets of the camp were full of huge piles of ſtraw, he thought it a fine opportunity to ſet it on fire. Accordingly he ordered torches, flambeaux, and poles with tow dipt in pitch on their points, and marched away about midnight, in order to ſurprize the enemy at day break. The advanced guard, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden attack, rouzed all the reſt by their dreadful cries. The ſignal to arms was inſtantly given, and in a moment the troops were poſted upon the rampart and at the gates to repulſe the enemy. Perſes immediately ordered his army to wheel, ordering the baggage to march firſt and the foot next, while he in perſon, with the cavalry and light-armed troops, brought up the rear, expected what really happened, that the Romans would follow to haraſs him. After a ſlight ſkirmiſh between his and the enemy's light troops, his infantry and cavalry regained their camp, without the leaſt diſorder. As all the forage in the fields round the Roman camp was now gathered, they decamped and came to Crannon^a without being annoy'd by their enemies. As Perſes was at a great diſtance, and the way betwixt them difficult for want of water, they remained there in great ſecurity, when all of a ſudden at day break the king's horſe and light troops appeared on an eminence above them, and ſo occaſioned a great alarm amongſt them. They had ſet out from Sycurium about noon the day before, and before day break left their infantry in a plain a little behind them. The king ſtaid ſome time upon the hill, thinking to draw out the Roman horſe to battle. But ſeeing they made no motion, he ſent a trooper with orders to his infantry to march back to Sycurium, whither he ſoon followed. The Roman cavalry

^a Between *Epidaurus* and the *Enipeus*.

followed them at a moderate distance, thinking to pick up some stragglers; but when they saw they marched in close order and kept their ranks, they also retired to their camp.

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LXV.

AFTER this the king, displeased with being so far from the enemy, drew nearer, and encamped at Mopsium. The Romans also, after having gathered in all the corn about Crannon, removed to Phalanna^a. The king being informed by a deserter, that the Romans were dispersed reaping the corn in the fields without any guard, he set out with 1000 horse and 2000 Thracians and Cretans, and marching with all possible expedition, fell unawares upon the reapers. He took about 1000 waggons ready loaded, with their horses, and about 600 prisoners. Then he detached 300 Cretans to guard the booty to his camp, and having recalled his other horse and foot, who were dispersed slaughtering the reapers, he marched up to the nearest advanced guard of the Romans, imagining he could easily destroy them. It was commanded by a legionary tribune, L. Pompeius, who retired with his men, who were greatly alarmed at the sudden approach of the enemy, to the nearest eminence, in order to save himself by the advantage of the post, since he was inferior in strength and number. Here he formed them in a circle and very close order, that being quite covered with their bucklers, they might ward off the enemy's darts and javelins. Persees surrounded the hill, ordering one body of his men to advance and come to close fight, and another to throw their darts at a distance upon the enemy. Thus were the Romans incommoded two ways. For those who attempted to ascend the hill hindered them from fighting in close order, and by breaking their ranks to attack them they exposed themselves to the darts and arrows of the other body. Nothing galled them so severely as a new sort of darts that were thrown with slings, invented during this war; it had a sharp iron head, two hands breadth in length, fixed on a hand

^a Between Larissa and Gonni.

half a cubit long, and about the thickness of one's finger. To poise it in its flight, it had three feathers like an arrow, and the sling in the middle had two leathers of unequal capacity. As the slinger swung it about his head, poised in the greatest leather, it flew out with the same force as a bullet. While they were severely galled with this and other kinds of weapons, and so fatigued that they could scarce support the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, promising them safe protection, and even rewards. But he could not prevail on any of them, and while they were obstinately determined to die, their hopes of relief were unexpectedly revived. For some of the foragers, who had fled to the camp, having informed the consul, that the guard was surrounded, he, moved with the danger of losing 800 men, all Roman citizens, quitted his camp with the cavalry, light troops and all the Numidian horse, foot and elephants, ordering the legionary tribunes to follow him with the infantry. Having reinforced the auxiliary light troops with the velites, he marched on before, attended by Eumenes, Attalus, and Misagenes prince of Numidia.

THE courage of the besieged revived as soon as they descri'd the foremost ensigns of their own army. Perseus had at first resolved to rest content with the advantage he had gained in taking and killing several of the foragers, without spending time in besieging the guard. After he had entered upon that enterprize, and saw he was not able to force it, he had thoughts of retiring without having suffered in the least, while he had it in his power: But now, flushed with his success, he waited the approach of the enemy, and dispatched aid du camp to bring up the phalanx. As that corps in haste quitted the camp later than his circumstances required, and were retarded in their march, they would have fallen in with the enemy in a regular disposition, and ready to receive them. The consul entered upon action as soon as he came up. The Macedonians at first sustained the efforts of the enemy, but

CHAP. LXVI. but being inferior in every respect, they were obliged to retire with the loss of 300 foot and 24 of the principal men of the king's body guards, among whom was Antimachus the general who commanded them. But the way by which they were to retreat proved more difficult than the battle. For the phalanx marching out in haste when sent for, first met the prisoners and waggons loaded with corn in a defile. Many of these were killed to make way, which occasioned inexpressible disorder on both sides, while none waited till the army was disentangled. The soldiers, seeing no other remedy, made their way over the waggons, and the horses, being pressed in the crowd, made a terrible flouncing. They had scarce freed themselves from this irregular body, when the cavalry that were with the king were driven back upon them. Then nothing was heard but loud clamors to retire, which occasioned as great an alarm, as if somewhat had been ready to tumble on their heads; inasmuch that had the enemy ventured to enter the defile, they might have cut most of them off. But the consul contented with his moderate success in having relieved his guard, returned to his camp. Some authors say, that a great battle was fought that day, and that the enemy had 8000 killed, amongst whom were two generals, Sopater and Antipater, and about 2800 taken prisoners with 27 standards. And that it was a bloody victory to the Romans, who had above 4300 killed, and lost five colors belonging to the left wing.

CHAP. LXVII. THIS day's action revived the courage of the Romans, and struck Perseus with the greatest consternation. He staid only a few days at Mopsium, chiefly to bury his dead, and then, leaving a strong garison at Gonni, retired into Macedonia. He left also Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small garison at Phila^a, and ordered him to sound the inclinations of the Magnesians and neighboring people. As soon as he arrived at Pella he put his troops into winter quarters, and went in person with Corys to Thessalonica.

YITONE Now *Pellin Pieria*, on the banks of the *Peneus*.

and

Thither

Thither advice was brought them, that Atlefbis a CHAP.
 ' petty king of Thrace, and Corragas, one of Eu- LXVII.
 ' menes's generals, had made an incursion into Cotys's

' dominions, and taken a country which is called
 ' Marene ^b.' Upon this Perſes loaded Cotys with
 presents, and diſmiſſed him to defend his own domi-
 nions. But he gave his cavalry 200 talents, which
 was only ſix months pay, though at firſt he promiſed
 them a whole year's. As ſoon as the conſul received
 advice that Perſes was gone, he marched to Gonni,
 to try if he could make himſelf maſter of it. As it
 is ſituated in the entrance to the paſs of Tempe, it is
 a ſtrong barrier to Macedon, and gave Perſes an eaſy
 entry into Theſſaly. The conſul quitted the enterprize
 when he found it impregnable by reaſon of it's natu-
 ral ſituation and ſtrong garifon. Then he marched by
 by-ways into Perrhœbia, took and demolifhed Mal-
 loea at the firſt aſſault, and after recovering Tripoli,
 and ſeveral other towns of that country, returned to
 Lariffa. After that he diſmiſſed Eumenes and Atta-
 lus, and ſent Miſagenes with his Numidians into win-
 ter quarters in the neareſt towns of Theſſaly. He
 diſtributed part of his troops through all Theſſaly in
 ſuch a manner that they ſhould both have convenient
 quarters, and ſerve as garifons to the towns. He de-
 tached Q. Mucius with 2000 men to overawe Am-
 bracia, and diſmiſſed all his Greek allies, except the
 Achæans. With part of his army he entered Achaia
 Phthiotis, where he razed Pteleum, which was aban-
 doned by it's inhabitants. The inhabitants of Autro-
 na opened their gates to him. Then he returned to
 Lariffa, which the citizens had abandoned and retired
 to the citadel, which he was about to ſtorm. But as
 the Macedonian garifon quitted it firſt, and left the
 inhabitants to themſelves, they immediately ſurren-
 dered. Afterwards he deliberated whether he ſhould
 go and beſiege Demetrias, or go into Bœotia, whi-
 ther he was ſent for by the Thebans, who were hard
 preſſed by the Coronæans. Moved by their prayers,

he went into Boeotia, because it was more convenient for winter quarters than Magnesia.

BOOK XLIII.

Several prætors condemned for their avarice and cruelty in their provinces. The pro-consul P. Licinius Crassus takes several cities in Greece, which he cruelly rifies. For this reason by a decree of senate the prisoners he had sold for slaves are restored. The admirals of the Roman fleets also greatly oppress the allies. This book also contains an account of Perseus's victories in Thrace; the vanquishing the Dardans and Illyrians, whose king was Gentius. The insurrection raised in Pæonia by Elonicus quelled by his death. M. Æmil. Lepidus chosen prince of the senate by the censors.

CHAP. I. **D**URING the same campaign, in which the Romans defeated Perseus in a battle between their horse in Theffaly, Mucius, whom the consul had detached into Illyricum, by force of arms obliged two opulent cities to surrender. He granted them every thing that belonged to them, thinking by this act of clemency to induce the inhabitants of Carnus^a, a strong fortify'd city, to yield. But when he could neither prevail with them to surrender, nor reduce them by force, that he might not fatigue his troops with taking two cities without reward, he rified the two he had before left untouched. The other consul Cassius, having performed nothing memorable in Gaul, his proper province, undertook a vain enterprize to lead his army through Illyricum into Macedonia. Having begun his march, deputies came from Aquileia to complain to the senate, that their colony being but weak and newly settled, was not sufficiently secured against the fierce people of Istria and Illyricum. Then they beg'd the senate would take care to have it sufficiently defended. The fathers asked them, if they would be pleased to have the consul Cassius charged with that business? But they answered, that

^a Sante Petronelle, in Lower Austria,

he had sent his army to Aquileia in order to march CHAP. I.
 cross Illyricum into Macedonia. The thing seemed
 at first incredible, and each began to think that he was
 going to attack Carnus or the Istrians. Then the A-
 quileians said they could affirm no more upon their
 knowledge, than that he had given his troops provi-
 sions for thirty days, and procured guides, who were
 acquainted with the ways from Italy into Macedonia.
 The fathers immediately expressed their indignation
 at the consul's daring to leave his own province to go
 into that of another; thereby exposing his army to
 new dangers in their march through foreign nations,
 and shewing so many enemies the way into Italy.
 They instantly passed a decree empowering the prætor
 Sulpicius to nominate three senators, who should post
 as fast as they could after Cassius where-ever he should
 be, and forbid him to make war on any nation, except
 that to which the senate had ordered him. Accord-
 ingly M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius and P. Mar-
 cius Rex, set out. The apprehensions of the senate for
 the consul and his army, diverted them from the care
 of fortifying Aquileia.

THEN the ambassadors from several people in CHAP. II.
 Hither and Farther Spain had audience of the senate.
 They complained of the pride and avarice of the Ro-
 man governors, and upon their knees beg'd of the se-
 nate, not to suffer their allies to be more miserably
 oppressed and spoiled, than if they were enemies. A-
 mong other shameful things of which they complain-
 ed, it was evident, that money had been extorted from
 them. Upon which L. Canuleius, to whose lot Spain
 had fallen, was ordered to appoint five commissioners of
 senatorial rank, for every person of whom the Spa-
 niards could reclame money that had been taken from
 them, and grant that people leave to chuse what ad-
 vocates they pleased to plead their cause. The depu-
 ties being called in, the decree of senate was read to
 them, and they were desired to name their advocates.
 They named M. Porcius Cato, P. Cornelius Scipio,
 son of Cn. L. Æmilius Paullus, and C. Sulpicius Gal-
 lus.

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II.

lus. These commissioners begun the prosecution with M. Titinius, who had been prætor of Hither Spain during the consulate of A. Manlius and M. Junius. His trial was twice put off, and at the third hearing he was acquitted. A dissention arose between the deputies of the two provinces. Those of Hither Spain chose Cato and Scipio, and those of the Further Paullus and Gallus for their patrons. The former prosecuted P. Furius Philus, and the latter M. Matienus. Philus had been prætor three years before in the consulate of Sp. Posthumius and Q. Mucius, and Matienus two years before during that of L. Posthumius and M. Popillius. They were both charged with heinous crimes, and judgment against them was at first suspended. But when the cause came to be heard again; by urging their having retired into voluntary banishment, they evaded making restitution. Philus went to Prænestæ, and Matienus to Tibur. It was reported, that the patrons refused to prosecute any more noble and illustrious men. What increased this suspicion was, that Canuleius laid aside the enquiry, and made his levies. After this he suddenly set out for his province, to prevent the Spaniards from proceeding in their prosecutions. By this means what was past was forgot, and the senate guarded against the like bad practices for the future, by ordering, that the Roman magistrates should receive the corn for their domestic use in kind, and not oblige the Spaniards to sell their corn at what price they pleased, or send deputies into the cities to collect the money.

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III.

A N O T H E R deputation, but of a different kind, arrived from Spain. They reckoned up about 4000 children of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, who had not been married, and pray'd the senate to assign them a city to dwell in. The senate ordered a list of their names to be delivered in to L. Canuleius, and that whomever of them he should enfranchise, should be sent to people Carteia on the Ocean: that such of the Cartesians as chose to stay in their

their habitations, should be numbered in the colony, and have lands assigned them. The privilege of Latium was granted this colony, which was called 'the colony of freedmen.'

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III.

About the same time arrived from Africa, Gulussa, son of Masinissa, in quality of ambassador from his father, and envoys from the Carthaginians. The young prince having the first audience, mentioned the aids which his father had sent to the Macedonian war, and promised, in return for the favors of the Romans, to supply them with what further they should want. He bade the fathers beware of being imposed upon by the artifices of the Carthaginians, who had resolved to fit out a large fleet, under pretext of aiding the Romans with it against the Macedonians. But when it should once be ready for action, it would be in their power to chuse their enemies and their allies. Then he beg'd the senate [not to credit their complaints against Masinissa, which flowed from no other source than their inbred hatred of the Romans, and his father's sincere attachment to them. 'Masinissa, said he, so strictly observes the articles of the treaty concluded with the Roman senate and people, that he prefers them to his own interest, or rather looks upon it to consist in submitting obsequiously to the authority and orders of the Romans. His principal view is to live in tranquillity; but the artifices of the Carthaginians constantly oblige him to be in arms for the defence either of the ancient dominions his father left him, or of those which he enjoys by the favor of the Romans. They have either forgot their former defeats, or renewing the memory of them serves only to whet their resentment; for elated with the great increase of their wealth, during the few years they have enjoy'd peace, they are grown insolent, and cannot contain themselves from constantly reflecting on their former power, and trying against their neighbors those forces, by which they will shortly, after having violated the treaty, shake off the yoke of you who vanquished them. In this disposition, while your attention was diverted another way by the Celtiberian war, and other nations of Spain infested the coast of Numidia, they sent Carthalo, general of their auxiliaries, to make an incursion on our borders. This officer, under pretext of surveying the limits set his nation, surprised my father's camp in his neighborhood. While Masinissa lay peaceably, and without offering injury to any person within the district assigned him by your ambassadors, he attacked him, and after killing and taking prisoners many of his men, excited the African peasants who inhabited it to

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rebel; neither has he yet ceased his incursions and ravages upon our dominions. It is your business, conscript fathers, according to your prudence and power, to oppose and check the insults of our common enemy, to take care that that peace, and the presents you have bestow'd on my father your ally, be as firm and permanent as his fidelity to you. The Gods have given you sovereign authority, our sole glory and greatest ambition shall be to obey your orders, as if they were the commands of heaven.' Then the Carthaginians were introduced, and made the same pitiful complaints which they had made the preceding year. But they could give small proof of the facts they alledged, though it was scarce to be doubted, but Masinissa, relying on the favor of the Romans, had made several encroachments on their territories, even with the connivance of the senate, who thought it the interest of their state to humble the power of Carthage. The fathers answered both, that they would soon send commissioners equitably to determine the differences on the spot, and ordered them to cease their hostilities. This however was not the sole view the senate had in sending those envoys. They had orders to observe the state of affairs in Carthage, whose fidelity was always slippery, and especially since the commencement of the Macedonian war had conceived hopes of a change, and was rent into factions. Few of it's principal men were in the Roman faction, which was headed by Hanno, surnamed Magnus. A considerable party declared for Masinissa, and were headed by Hannibal, surnamed Psar. The strongest party were for the commons, under the direction of Hamilcar Samis, and Carthalo. The commissioners on their arrival in Africa finding Masinissa in possession of the district in question, acted rather like arbiters than judges, continuing each in what they then held, as if the affair was not ripe for a definitive sentence. But they were surprized to find in Carthage so great plenty of men and wealth, for within the space of twenty years, by the advantage of it's situation for trade, and the industry of it's inhabitants, it had increased so much, that there was not the least vestige of the former wars and siege to be seen. As soon as the commissioners had set out the comitia met, and transfer'd the fasces to A. Hostilius Mancinus, and A. Atilius Serranus. Then Q. Mænius, M. Recius, and L. Hortensius were elected prætors. The historians now extant have not preserved the names of the other three. The new consul Hostilius got the province of Macedonia, and Atilius Italy by lot. The prætor Recius got the jurisdiction of the city, and Mænius that over foreigners, as Hortensius did the defence of the sea-coast with a fleet. If we may be allowed to conjecture from the consulate of succeeding years, as that honorable office was generally confer'd on the prætors of the former, we may reckon Q. Ælius Pætus and T. Manl. Torquatus among the prætors of the present. For in the Capitoline marbles we read of the former being consul with Junius three years

A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Atilius Serranus, consuls, Y. of R. 582. B. J. C. 170.

years after, and the latter with Cn. Octavius five years after. Besides, two years after this Torquatus was joined in commission with C. Popillius Lænas, a man of consular dignity, and C. Decimius, who had been prætor, to terminate the war between Antiochus king of Syria, and the two Ptolemys, an office of so great dignity, that it is scarce credible his name would have been inserted, if he had born no curule magistracy. In the mean time Licinius consul of the former year, whose unsuccessful encounters with Perſes we have related above, spent some part of the winter in Theſſaly, but the greatest part in Bœotia. After this he performed no memorable exploit, unless we reckon it glorious, to have taken, while the king was employ'd at a distance in Macedonia, several cities which he treated with the greatest barbarity, selling the inhabitants, with their effects, for slaves. The cities on the sea coast met with no better usage from the pro-prætor Lucretius, and the other officers of the fleet, who greatly oppressed the allies in many respects. When the allies afterwards brought their complaints against the Roman magistrates, the senate did them all the justice in their power, and in the first place ordered the Coroneans, whom Licinius had sold for slaves, to be restored to liberty.

COTYS, finding Atleſbis, a neighboring prince, and Eumenes's forces, commanded by Corragus, in possession of part of his dominions, and himself unable to drive them out, especially as the Dardans threatened to fall on him on the other side, he earnestly solicited the aid from Perſes, which was stipulated in the treaty between them. The Macedonian, thinking it contrary to his interest to suffer Cotys, who was almost the only prince who faithfully and openly adhered to his alliance, to perish, set out to his aid immediately with several squadrons of horse, from the nearest garisons and the greatest part of the phalanx. Having soon routed the enemy, he restored the province of Mærenes to it's lawful prince. Then he turned his arms against the Dardans, whom he not only restrained from making incursions, but while they expected nothing less, fell upon their army, killed 10000, and forced those who survived to retire behind the mountains. By ravaging their country and taking several of their towns, he transferred the terror they had struck into Thrace to their own dominions, and then led back his troops enriched with their spoils into Macedonia. He was afraid if he stay'd longer that he would not be able to stop the Romans, who threatned a descent on the sea coasts, the places next to Theſſaly and Illyricum. About the same time, viz. in the consulate of Licinius and Cassius, we find in the annals, that at Cassinum, a girl changed her sex, and being looked on as a monster, was by order of the haruspices exposed on a desert island without Italy. M. Junius Pennus, prætor of Hither Spain, having repaired to his province with a supply of 8000 foot and 450 horse, found the Celtiberians and all the people comprehended in the same league with them, in a ferment, occasioned by the

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intrigues or fanaticism of one man. Olonicus, or (as others call him) Salondicus, their new general had excited them to revolt by giving them assured hopes of victory. This man, who was equally cunning and daring, ran about, like a prophet, brandishing a silver lance, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and so filled the Barbarians with his mad chimeras, that at his persuasion a greater number of them ran to arms, than had ever appeared before. Before the prætor marched against this enemy, he made it his business by all manner of benefactions to prevent the rest of the province from taking arms, and keep them firm in their affection. Then he marched into Celtiberia and encamped near the rebels. When Salondicus saw his troops in a panic, on calling to mind their former defeats, and that they had but small confidence in his predictions, he formed a daring enterprize, and becoming the man he had boasted himself to be. After the example of Mucius Scævola, he formed a design of killing the Roman prætor in his camp. He believed it might easily be effected, and if it succeeded, that nothing would be easier than to destroy an army, like a body without a head, deprived of its general; and besides, the astonishing nature of the deed would, by confirming his other predictions, raise him to the chief power among his countrymen. He had good reason to be confident, that, as there were so many Spanish soldiers mingled with the Romans, he could not be known by his dress or language, and so might penetrate to the general's tent without being discovered. In consequence taking with him on this desperate attempt an associate of the same fanatic character, he went in the night to the Roman camp, where without molestation he got as far as the prætor's tent. But as he attempted to enter it the centinel stab'd him with his lance. His companion met with the same fate. Junius, after escaping this anger, ordered both the villains heads to be cut off, and given to some chosen prisoners to be carry'd on the points of their spears to their own camp. These] by shewing the heads when they entered the camp, occasioned so great a panic among the rebels, that had the Romans immediately marched to attack their lines they might have taken them. After that the greatest part of them fled, though some of them were of opinion they ought to send deputies to beg a peace from the prætor. Many cities as soon as they heard the news, surrendered. Some cleared themselves by laying the blame on the frenzy of the two seducers, and offered to submit to the punishment they deserved. But the prætor pardoned them. Then he marched to the other cities, who all submitted on his summons, and made a progress through the province, which

though

though lately in so great a ferment, was now settled in perfect tranquillity. This clemency of the prætor, in subjecting this warlike nation without bloodshed, was the more acceptable to the senate and people, as the consul Licinius and Lucretius had behaved with so much barbarity in the war in Greece. The tribunes of the people incessantly inveighed against Lucretius in assemblies, while his friends pleaded in his excuse that he was absent in the service of the state. But so ignorant were people then of what passed in their neighborhood, that he was actually at his estate near Antium, and with the money he had extorted in Greece bringing in the water of Loracina to that city. This work cost him 130000 asses of brass. He also adorned the temple of Æsculapius with the paintings which were a part of the spoil. But the deputies from the Abderites diverted the storm of ill-will and infamy from Lucretius upon his successor Hortensius. With tears in their eyes they complained in the senate, ‘ that he had taken and rifled their city. His reason for this inhumanity was, because, when he demanded 100000 denarii and 50000 modii of wheat, they had asked time to send deputies to the consul Hostilius and to Rome on that subject. But before they could reach the consul, they received the disagreeable news, that their town was taken, their principal men beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves.’ The fathers were shocked at this inhumanity, and passed the same decree in their favor, that they had done in the case of the Coroneans the preceding year, ordering the prætor Mænius to publish it in an assembly of the people. They also dispatched two commissioners, C. Semp. Blæsus and S. Julius Cæsar, to restore them to liberty. These two were also ordered to tell the consul Hostilius, and Hortensius the prætor, that the Abderites had been unjustly attacked, and it was their pleasure, that enquiry should be made after such of them as were slaves, that they might be restored to their liberty.

AT the same time embassadors arrived from Cin- CHAP.
cibilis a Gaulish king, to complain of C. Cassius con- V.
sul

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ful of the preceding year, who now served in the rank of legionary tribune under Hostilius in Macedonia. Cincibilis's brother informed the fathers that Cassius had ravaged the lands of some people of the Alps, the allies of his brother, carry'd away a great number of them and sold them for slaves. Deputies also came from the Carnians, Istrians and Iapidans, to complain, that Cassius had first extorted guides from them to lead his army into Macedonia; that they had given him a free passage through their country, imagining he was going to attack another people. But being stopt in the middle of his rout, in coming back he had traversed their country, putting all to fire and sword, without any one in it being able to guess at his reason for using them as enemies.' The senate desired him to inform his brother, and at the same time told the other deputies, that were present, that the senate had not foreseen the hostilities they complained of, and since they had been committed, they disapproved them. It was unjust to condemn a person of consular dignity unheard. But if, on his return from Macedonia, they would convict him of these crimes, the senate would give them satisfaction.' The fathers were not even content with returning this answer, but sent two deputies to the petty prince beyond the Alps, and three round the other nations to inform them of the disposition of the senate. They also sent presents of 200000 asses of brass to the deputies. To the two brothers in particular they gave two gold chains weighing five pounds, and five silver vases weighing twenty pounds, with two horses richly caparisoned, and grooms to attend them, with horsemen's arms and cloaks. They also gave suits of apparel to their slaves and attendants of free condition. Besides upon their petition they had leave granted them to buy ten horses and send them out of Italy. The deputies sent with them beyond the Alps were C. Lælius and M. Æmilius Lepidus. Those who went to the other nations were C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio and T. Memmius.

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At the same time came embassadors from several states of Greece and Asia. The Athenians were first introduced. They informed the fathers, that they had sent all the land and sea forces they had to Licinius the consul and C. Lucretius the prætor. They had not accepted their service, but ordered them to send 100000 modii of corn. This last order, that they might not be wanting in their duty, they had comply'd with, though their land was so barren, that they were obliged to import foreign grain for the subsistence of their own people, and were ready to obey any farther commands should be laid on them.' The Milesians, without saying they had done any thing hitherto, offered readily to comply with every order of the senate. The Alabandians said, they had built a temple to the city of Rome, and appointed anniversary games in honor of that Goddess, that they had brought a present of a gold crown of 50 pound weight^a to be placed in the capitol to Jupiter O. M. with 300 horsemen's shields to be given to whoever the senate should direct. Then they beg'd permission to place the gift in the capitol and to sacrifice there. After this the Lampfacenes brought a crown of gold weighing 80 pound, and observed, that though they were subjects of Perses, as they had formerly been to Philip, yet they had revolted from the Macedonian as soon as the Roman army arrived in Macedon. For which, and performing every thing the Roman generals had directed, they only beg'd to be received into alliance with the Romans, and that in case peace should be made with Perses, it should be expressly excepted in it, that they should not hereafter be subject to him.' The deputies of the other states had a gracious answer. The prætor Mænius was ordered to draw up the instrument of an alliance with the Lampfacenes, and then each had a present of 2000 asses of brass. The Alabandians were ordered to carry the shields to the consul Hostilius in Macedonia.

^a 2400 l.

CHAP. VI. Carthaginian envoys also arrived from Africa, and informed the fathers 1000000 of wheat^b, 500000 of barley^c, were ready ship'd to be transported to any port the senate should direct. 'We are sensible,' said they, that this present and mark of our affection is far short of what you deserve, and we incline to give; but they had on many former occasions performed the office of good and faithful allies in whatever tended to promote the interest of both states.' Deputies also arrived from Masinissa, promising the same quantity of wheat, with 1200 horse, and 12 elephants; and that whatever the senate should farther think necessary for him to do, he would perform as readily, as what he offered of his own accord. The fathers thanked both the king and the Carthaginians, and desired they might send the aids they had promised into Macedonia to the consul Hostilius. Each of the envoys had a present made him of 2000 asses of brass.

CHAP. VII. THEN arrived embassadors from Crete, reporting that they had furnished the consul Licinius with the number of archers he had demanded. But being asked the question, they did not deny, 'that a greater number were in Perseus's army, than in the Roman.' Upon this they were answered, 'that if they had prudently prefer'd the alliance of the Romans to that of Perseus, the senate would have answered them like undoubted friends. In the meantime they might desire their countrymen, to take care as soon as possible to recal such of their troops as served under Perseus.' The Cretans being dismissed with this answer, the Chalcidians were called in. Their first appearance shewed, that they had been forced by the most excessive injuries to send this deputation, as Mictio, the head of it, was so lame of the gout, that he was brought in a chair, and might on that account have pleaded being excused from the office; yet such was their indispensable necessity, that it would not have been sustained. He

^b 150000 bushels.^c 125000.

began with saying, that of all the parts of his body **CHAP.**
his distemper left him only his tongue at liberty to de- **VII.**
plore the calamities of his country. He then re-

peated the services, both ancient and recent, his
state had done the Roman generals and armies,
even in the war which was actually carrying on a-
gainst Perses. He afterwards proceeded to the ex-
cesses of avarice and cruelty exercised by the præ-
tor Lucretius against the inhabitants of Chalcis;
and lastly to those they then suffered from L. Hor-
tensius, who had succeeded him; adding, that after
all, were they to be treated with greater inhumani-
ty, they were determined to suffer any thing, ra-
ther than join the king of Macedonia. That as
to Lucretius and Hortensius, it would have been
much more for the advantage of the people of
Chalcis to have shut their gates against them, than
to have received them into their city. For the in-
habitants of the cities which had done so, had pre-
served their liberties and estates: whereas Lucre-
tius, with horrid sacrilege, had plundered their
temples, and caused all the ornaments of them to
be carried to Antium. That after having depriv-
ed the allies of the Roman people of their proper-
ty, he had made slaves of their persons; and if
any thing had escaped his avarice, Hortensius, by
treading in his steps, had entirely taken it from
them. That in the winter as well as summer he
filled their houses with soldiers and seamen; so
that those unhappy citizens had the grief to see
continually in the midst of themselves, their wives
and children, people void of shame, humanity
and faith.

THE senate thought it incumbent on them to **CHAP.**
send for Lucretius, that he might hear all that was **VIII.**
advanced against him, and object to it if he could.
The reproaches made to his face were still more
strong than all that had been said in his absence, and
he had two accusers much more powerful and formi-
dable to oppose in two tribunes of the people, who
not

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not contented with inveighing against him in a full senate, exclaimed against him before the people, and after having loaded him with reproaches, summoned him in form to appear at the tribunal of the people, to answer their accusations. As to the deputies of Chalcis, the prætor Mænius was ordered to tell them, ' that the senate knew they had advanced no-
' thing but the truth, in speaking of the services they
' had done the Roman people in the present and
' former wars, and that they retained all the grati-
' tude they ought for them. As to the injuries they
' had received from C. Lucretius, and at present
' from L. Hortensius, they could not suppose that
' the senate approved them, if they reflected in the
' least that the Roman people had declared war a-
' gainst Perses, and before against Philip his father,
' to deliver the Greeks from the tyranny of those
' princes, and undoubtedly not with design to draw
' upon them those oppressions from the Romans
' themselves. That the senate would write to L.
' Hortensius, to signify that they disapproved his
' conduct, he was accused of, in respect to the peo-
' ple of Chalcis; to order him to find out the free
' persons who had been made slaves, and to restore
' them to liberty as soon as possible; and to prohi-
' bit him from quartering any foldier or officer of
' the fleet upon them, except captains of vessels.' Such was the purport of the letters, wrote by the senate to Hortensius. The usual presents were made to the deputies, and carriages and other conveniences supplied Mictio, in order to accommodate him to Brundisium. When the day for the appearance of C. Lucretius arrived, the tribunes accused him before the people, and condemned him in a fine of a million of asses of brass. All the tribes were unanimous in passing this sentence.

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IX.

NOTHING memorable happened in Liguria this year; for the enemies did not move, or the consul march his army into their country. After he

was sufficiently satisfy'd of their peaceable intentions, CHAP.
he disbanded the two Roman legions sixty days after IX.
his arrival in his province. He put the Latins into

winter quarters at Luna and Pisa very early in the season, while he with the cavalry took a progress round most of the cities of Gaul. There was no open war any where but in Macedonia; however they had strong suspicions. In consequence they appointed 80 transports to be sent from Brundisium to C. Furius, the commanding officer, who guarded the island of Iffa with two of it's own ships. On board the former were ordered to be put 2000 soldiers, which the prætor Mænius, by order of the senate, had levied in the parts of Greece opposite to Illyricum. The consul Hostilius also sent Ap. Claudius into Illyricum, with 4000 foot, to protect the people bordering upon it. But he not content with this detachment, by collecting auxiliaries from the allies, augmented it to 8000 of different kinds, and having traversed all that country, halted at Lychnis^a, a country belonging to the Deffaretæ.

NEAR it stood the city of Uscana, the capital CHAP.
of a canton mostly under the jurisdiction of Perfes. It X.
had 10000 inhabitants and a small guard of Cretans to defend them. From thence messengers came privately to inform Claudius, 'that if he would draw 'nearer the city, some persons would be ready to 'betray it to him. That it was worth his while; for 'it had wealth sufficient to enrich not only him and 'his friends, but even his troops.' The 'hopes of gratifying his avarice so blinded him, that he had not the precaution to detain any of the messengers, or demand hostages as a pledge against their acting treacherously; nay he did not send any one to find out the truth, or give the traitors the oaths usual on such occasions. On the day agreed on he set out from Lychnis, and encamp'd within twelve miles of Uscana. About four in the morning he marched out

^a Now Ocrida, in Macedonia. south of the Deuriopes, and Deffaretæ.

^b On the west of Macedon, to the

CHAP. of his camp, leaving only 1000 men to guard it.
 x. The march was irregular in a long broken line, as many of them had lost their way in the night, and in this order did they arrive at the city. As they saw no soldiers on the wall it increased their negligence. As soon as they arrived within throw of a dart, the inhabitants sallied out at two gates at once. Their shout was seconded by a great noise from the walls, occasioned by the cries of the women, with their striking on brass vessels, and the air resounded with the various shouts of the rabble and slaves. This struck Claudius's army with so much terror, that they could not sustain the first charge of those who had sallied with great vigor. Accordingly, greater numbers of them were killed in the flight than in the field of battle, and scarce 2000 escaped with their general to their trenches. As these were at a great distance, the enemy had the better opportunity of overtaking them who lag'd by the way. Neither did Claudius stay in his camp to collect his men, who were dispersed in the flight, (and which was the only means of saving the stragglers) but instantly marched the remains to Lychnis.

CHAP. SEX. DIGITIUS, a legionary tribune, who
 xi. had come to Rome to offer some private sacrifices, spread the news of this and other defeats in Macedonia. This alarmed the fathers, who to prevent farther and greater disgrace, sent M. Fulvius and M. Caninius Rebilus, to enquire into the state of the war in Macedonia, and to order the consul Hostilius to fix the election of new magistrates to some day in January, and then return himself as soon as possible to Rome. In the mean time they ordered the prætor Recius to summon the senators from all parts of Italy, to repair to Rome, except such as were absent on the business of the state, and forbid such as were already in the city to remove farther than one mile from it. All this was done agreeable to the senate's order. The consular comitia were held before the 28th of February, and the fasces were confer'd on Q. Marcius Philippus

lippus a second time, and on C. Servilius Cæpio. CHAP.
 Three days after, C. Decimius, M. Claud. Marcellus, XI.
 C. Sulpicius Gallus, C. Marcius Figulus, Ser. Corn.
 Lentulus, and P. Fonteius Capito, were elected præ-
 tors. Besides the two jurisdictions of the city, the præ-
 tors elect had four other provinces assigned them,
 Spain, Sardinia, Sicily and the fleet. About the be-
 ginning of March Flaccus and Rebilus returned from
 Macedonia. They reported, ‘ the advantages Perles
 ‘ had gained that campaign, and how much the Ro-
 ‘ man allies were terrify’d, at seeing so many cities
 ‘ reduced into subjection by the Macedonian. That
 ‘ the consul’s army was greatly diminished by the fa-
 ‘ vor shewn the private men in granting them fur-
 ‘ loughs. For this the consul blamed the legionary
 ‘ tribunes, and they him.’ But the fathers perceived
 that they made light of Claudius’s defeat, because
 only a few Italians had been slain in it. The consuls
 elect were ordered to lay a state of the affairs of Ma-
 cedonia before the senate, as soon as they should en-
 ter on their office. This year happened to be leap
 year, and the intercalary day was inserted the third
 day after the terminalia*. This year also died sever-
 al priests; L. Flaminus the augur, and two pontifs,
 L. Furius Philus, and C. Livius Salinator. T. Man-
 lius Torquatus succeeded to Furius, and M. Servilius
 to Livius.

IN the beginning of the following year, when the CHAP.
 new consuls Marcius and Servilius moved the senate XII.
 to determine their provinces, the fathers ordered them
 either to agree between themselves, or draw lots for I-
 taly and Macedonia. But to prevent all insinuations of
 one being more favored than the other, it was thought
 proper, before the lots should be drawn, to determine
 the supplies and what else might be necessary for both
 provinces. For Macedonia they allotted 6000 Ro-
 man and as many Latin foot, with 250 horse of the
 former and 300 of the latter. When these supplies
 should arrive, as many of the old troops were to be

Q. Marcius
 Philippus,
 Cn. Servil.
 Cæpio,
 consuls,
 Y. of R. 583.
 B. J. C. 179.

* See vol. I. p. 37. note c.

CHAP. XII. disbanded as would reduce each Roman legion to 6000 foot and 300 horse. No determinate number of supplies was voted for the other consul; he was only to levy two legions, each to consist of 5000 foot and 200 horse. However he was allowed a superior number of Latins than his colleague, viz. 10000 foot with 600 horse. Beside these the senate ordered four more legions to be levy'd, for whatever service should be found to be necessary. The people, not the consuls, had the nomination of the legionary tribunes, for these and the Latins were ordered to furnish 16000 foot and 1000 horse for the same service. This army was only to be in readiness to march, wherever necessity should require. Macedonia engrossed all the cares of the state. For the fleet 1000 enfranchised Romans were ordered to be levy'd, and as many out of Sicily, whom the prætor who should get that province was to take care to send to Macedonia, or wherever else the fleet should be. For Spain 3000 Roman foot with 300 horse were decreed as a supply. The number of men in a legion in that province, was also limited to 5000 foot and 330 horse. The prætor who should get that province was likewise ordered to make the Latins furnish 4000 foot and 300 horse for it.

CHAP. XIII. I AM not ignorant that in effect of the same irreligion which makes people commonly believe, that the Gods give men no forewarnings of future events, few prodigies are now talked of, or mentioned in histories. But for my part, I know not how it happened, that in relating the actions of the ancients, I fell into the ancient taste, and had a scruple of conscience to judge facts unworthy a place in my annals, which the wisest of our fathers in their several ages imagined to deserve the most serious attention of the state. Two prodigies were talked of this year at Anagnia; a comet was seen in the sky, and a cow spoke, and was kept at the public charge. About the same time the appearance of a great fire was seen in the air at Minturnæ. It rained stones at Reate. In the citadel of Cumæ

Cumæ the statue of Apollo wept for three days. In Rome two sextons reported, the one, that a serpent with a crest had been seen by several people in the temple of Fortune; the other reported two prodigies to have happened in that of Fortuna primigenia, on the capitol, that a palm tree sprung up in the area, and it rained blood for the space of one day. Two other prodigies were rejected because they were attested only by private persons; T. Marcius Figulus reported, that a palm tree had sprung up in his court yard. The other happened in the house of one L. Atreus at Fregellæ, a javelin, which he had bought for his son, a soldier, had appeared all in flame for two hours in the day without being consumed. On account of these public prodigies, the decemvirs consulted the Sybilline books, and ordered forty large victims to be sacrificed, and to what Gods. They farther appointed a supplication, and that all the magistrates should offer victims on all the altars, which should be also visited by the people wearing crowns. Every thing was performed agreeable to the decemvirs direction.

THEN the assembly was appointed for the election of censors. The chief men of the state, C. Valerius Lævinus, L. Posthumius Albinus, P. Mucius Scævola, M. Junius Brutus, C. Claudius Pulcher, and Tib. Semp. Gracchus, stood candidates for the office, which the people conferred on the two latter. As there was more than common reason to make the levies with care, on account of the Macedonian war, the consuls complained to the senate, that the younger men refused to list. But two tribunes of the people, C. Sulpicius and M. Claudius, defended the people, saying, 'that the difficulty of finding recruits was entirely owing to the consuls themselves; for they would enlist none against their own inclination. And to convince the conscript fathers that it was so, if they pleased, the prætors, who were inferior magistrates, would complete the levies.' Accordingly the affair was

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committed to the prætors by universal consent of the fathers, but not without flouting at the consuls. To forward the business the censors published an edict in an assembly of the people, declaring, ‘ that they
‘ would appoint a law in enrolling the people, for
‘ obliging every citizen to swear, besides the common oath, that he was under 46 years of age, and
‘ should appear to be incorporated in the army according to the ordinance of the censors, C. Claudius and Ti. Sempronius; and that as often as levies should be made under any succeeding censors,
‘ he should appear at the levies, if he was not already a soldier.’ Moreover, as there was a report, that many private men were absent from the army in Macedonia by furloughs for an unlimited time from their officers, they enacted, ‘ that all the soldiers
‘ who had been enlisted in the consulate of P. Ælius and C. Popillius, or succeeding consuls, who
‘ were now in Italy, should, after being mustered in their proper tribes, repair to that province within
‘ thirty days. That such as were under the tutelage
‘ of fathers, or grandfathers, should give in their
‘ names to them; for they would enquire into the
‘ reasons of their having been dismissed the service,
‘ and order such as should appear to have been discharged merely out of favor before the legal time,
‘ to be enlisted again.’

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xv.

BESIDES the men that were raised for a supply, the prætor C. Sulpicius levied four legions, which were completed within eleven days. After that the consuls drew lots for their provinces; which the prætors had done sooner, being obliged to it by the necessity of hearing causes. Sulpicius had got the jurisdiction over citizens; Decimius that over foreigners; Marcellus, Spain; Lentulus, Sicily; Capito, Sardinia; and Figulus, the fleet. The consul Servilius got Italy, and Marcius Macedonia. As soon as the feriæ latinæ were celebrated, the latter set out for his province. After that his colleague moved the senate to determine which two of the new legions
he

he should lead into Gaul. The fathers ordered the prætors Sulpicius and Marcellus, to give him which of those they had levied that they pleased. But the consul, taking it ill to be subjected to the will of the prætors, dismissed the senate, and repairing to the prætors tribunal, demanded the two legions agreeable to the senate's decree. The prætors gave him his choice. After that the censors reviewed the senate, and chose M. Æmilius Lepidus a third time president of it. They also expelled seven members. As they discovered by the poll how many soldiers were absent from the army in Macedonia, they obliged them to return to that province. They likewise enquired into the reasons, why each had been discharged the service, and obliged such as they thought unduly dismissed to take this oath; 'Thou dost faithfully swear, without mental reservation, and as far as in thy power, to return to Macedonia, agreeable to the edict of C. Claudius and Ti. Sempronius the censors.'

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IN their survey of the equestrian order they acted with great severity. They took the horses from many of the knights. Though this step gave great offence to the order, they added another edict, which increased the odium raised against them. It ran thus. 'None of those knights, who, during the censorship of Q. Fulvius and A. Posthumius, had farm'd the public revenues and voluntary loans, should for the future be concerned in those farms as partners or otherwise.' The old farmers, not being able by repeated complaints to prevail with the senate to limit the censorial power in this affair, at length found a patron in P. Rutilius, a tribune of the people, who resented a personal injury done him by the censors. They had ordered an enfranchised citizen, the tribune's client, to pull down a wall in the sacred street, opposite to the public buildings, because it had been built on a piece of ground belonging to the public. This libertine appealed to the tribunes, but as none of that college, except Rutilius,

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supported his cause, the censors in public assembly fined him, and sent officers to distrain his goods. This kindled a terrible flame; for upon the farmers of the revenue applying to the tribune, he all of a sudden, without the concurrence of his colleagues, brought in a bill, 'for disannulling the leases of the public money granted by C. Claudius and Ti. Sempronius. That they should be farmed out anew, and all orders promiscuously should be free to purchase or contract for them.' The tribune fixed the day for the assembly meeting to pass this bill into a law. When the day came, and the censors appeared to hinder the bill from passing, the assembly were silent, while Sempronius was speaking. But Claudius interrupted him, ordering a cryer to proclaim silence. Upon this the tribune complain'd, 'that the people had been drawn away from him, and himself affronted,' and so flung out of the capitol, where the assembly was held. Next day he raised a great tumult, and first confiscated the effects of Sempronius, because he had shewn no regard to his intercession, but affronted him in a case where a person had appeal'd to the tribunes against a fine and attachment of effects. He also appointed a day for Claudius to take his trial, for having called the assembly away from him, and declared both censors guilty of heinous crimes, desiring C. Sulpicius, the city prætor, to appoint a day for their trial. As the censors willingly agreed, that the people should hear their cause as soon as possible, the day of trial was fixed to the 22d and 23d of September. The censors immediately repaired to the court of the temple of Liberty, and having sealed up the public registers, shut their office, and dismissed the slaves who kept them, declared they would enter on no public business, till the people had passed sentence in their cause. Claudius's trial came on first. As eight of the twelve centuries of knights, besides many of the first ward, condemned him, the principal men of the city in sight of the assembly laid aside their

gold rings, changed their apparel, and went round the people soliciting their favor. But it is said that Gracchus alone induced them to alter their resolutions. For when the people from all sides cry'd out that he was in no danger, he swore in plain terms, that if his colleague should be condemned, he would not wait their sentence, but accompany him into banishment. By this means in the end eight centuries declared in favor of the criminal. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune dropt the indictment against Sempronius.

THE same year, the colony of Aquileia petitioned the senate for a supply of planters. The senate for that purpose ordered 1500 families to be levied and sent thither under T. Annius Luscus, P. Decius Subulo, and M. Cornelius Cethegus. That year also C. Popillius and Cn. Octavius, the ambassadors who had been sent into Greece, having read the senate's decree first at Thebes, carry'd it round all the cities of Peloponnesus, ordaining, 'that none of them should furnish the Roman officers with any thing towards the war, except what the senate should order.' This gave the allies assurance, that for the future they would be relieved of the burdensome expences the Roman magistrates from time to time loaded them with. In the Achæan diet at Argos, they were heard and answered with great civility. Having left this faithful nation in the greatest hopes of future security, they went over to Ætolia. No sedition had yet broke out here, but they lay under the strongest suspicions, and brought many complaints against each other. For this reason the deputies demanded hostages of them, and without putting an end to the affair, set out for Acarnania. The Acarnanians assembled their diet at Thyrium, to give them audience. Here they also were divided into factions. Some of their chief men demanded garrisons to be put into their cities, to secure them against the phrenzy of those who inclined to join the Macedonian. Others declared against this, because it

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would be putting the same marks of disgrace on cities that were quiet and in their alliance, as are the common fate of those of enemies taken by storm. This seemed a very just remonstrance. Then the commissioners returned to the pro-consul Hostilius at Larissa; for it was he who had sent them on this business. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popilius with 1000 men into winter quarters at Ambracia.

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XVIII.

P E R S E S durst not stir out of Macedonia, for fear the Romans should find an entry into it when defenceless. However, before the hard weather came on, when the deep snow made the mountains of Thessaly impassable, he thought it a good opportunity to break all the hopes and courage of the neighboring people, and to secure himself against all apprehensions from them while he was employ'd in the Roman war: as Cotys secured him peace on the side of Thrace, Cephalus on the side of Epirus, by a sudden revolt from the Romans, and he had lately subdued the Dardans, he considered that Macedonia was exposed only on the side of Illyricum, which nation was not quiet, but gave the Romans a free entrance into his country, and that if he had once reduced the nearest Illyrians, it might be possible to allure Gentius their king, who had long been wavering, to join him: accordingly he set out with 1000 foot, mostly phalangites, 2000 light troops, and 500 horse, and arrived at Stubera^a. Here having provided provisions for several days, and ordered the necessary apparatus for sieges to follow, on the third day he encamped at Uscana, the largest city in all the Penestian territories. But before he would begin his attacks, he sent to sound the inclinations both of the commanders of the garison, and of the inhabitants. Now besides the Roman garison there were in the place some brave Illyrican youth. As the answer they returned him did not tend to peace, he lay down before it, and endeavored to take it by a general assault. Notwithstanding his men without interrupti-

^a In the country of the *Deuriopes*, between the *Axius* and *Erigonus*.

on relieved each other day and night, some laboring to scale the wall, and others to set fire to the gates, yet the besieged sustained that storm, in hopes that the rigor of the season would not suffer the Macedonians to keep the field long, and that the king would not have so much respite from the Roman war, as to be able to stay. But when they saw the galleries and towers raising, their obstinacy abated. For besides their being inferior in point of strength, they had not a sufficient quantity of corn or other provisions, as they expected nothing less than being besieged. In consequence, despairing of being able to hold out, C. Carvilius Spoletinus and C. Afranius were sent from the Roman garison to treat with the king, in the first place for leave for their troops to march out with their arms and baggage, and then if they could not obtain that, to obtain security for their lives and liberties. Perseus promised this very fairly; but no promise was ever less faithfully performed. For after desiring them to depart with all that belonged to them, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they were gone, the Illyrican cohort of 500 men and the Uscanians surrendered themselves and their city.

PERSES having put a garison into Uscana, led away all that had surrendered to Stubera. They equalled his army in number. There having secured the Romans, who amounted to 4000 men, besides officers, in several cities, and sold the Uscanians and Illyricans, he led back his army into the canton of Penestia to reduce Oæneum^a. This city, besides it's otherwise commodious situation, was a key to the country of the Labeates^b, of which Gentius was then king. But as he was passing by a populous castle called Draudacum, some persons well acquainted with that country told him, that if he did not reduce it, Oæneum would be of little use to him; for Draudacum was more conveniently situated in all respects. Upon his first approach it's inhabitants sur-

^a Ciderisso in Penestia.^b A people of Dalmatia, and near Scutari.

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rendered. He was much elated by this surrendry, which was made sooner than he expected ; and perceiving how formidable his army was, eleven other castles in a like consternation submitted. Against a few of these he was obliged to use force, and all the rest surrendered voluntarily. In them he took 1500 Romans, who had been placed as a garison to them. Carvilius Spoletinus was of great service to him in his parleys with them, assuring them they would meet with no ill usage. At last he arrived at Oæneum, which he was obliged to besiege in form, as it was better fortify'd and had a greater number of youth to defend it, than the rest had. On one side it's walls were washed by the Artatus^a, and covered on the other by a high mountain. These encouraged the inhabitants to defend themselves. As soon as Perſes had finished his trenches, he determined to raise a cavalier on the highest side, by whose height he might command the walls. While it was raising great numbers of the besieged were taken off by different causes in frequent skirmishes, when they sallied to obstruct the enemy's works, and defend their own walls ; and even those who remained were rendered useless by uninterrupted fatigue night and day, and by loss of blood. As soon as the cavalier was brought as high as the wall, and the royal cohort, called victorious, had mounted it, a general assault was made, and the city scaled in many places. They killed all who were arrived at the age of puberty, and imprisoned the women and children ; all the other booty was abandoned to the troops. Then the victor returned to Stubera, from whence he sent Pleuratus, an Illyrian exile who lived with him, and Aputeus a Berean, embassadors to Gentius. They were instructed to give that prince a detail of Perſes's exploits during the summer campaign against the Romans and Dardans, with those against the Illyrians in winter ; and to exhort him to make an alliance with him and the Macedonian nation.

^a Unknown.

THESE envoys passed mount Scordus ^a, cross-
ed that part of Illyricum, which the Macedonians had
purposely laid waste, to make both Illyricum and
Macedonia inaccessible to the Dardans, and after great
fatigue arrived at the city of Scodra ^b. Gentius then
resided at Lissos ^c. Thither the envoys came, and
had a favorable audience. However they received
an answer to no effect: 'That he did not want in-
'clination to make war on the Romans; but the
'principal thing he wanted to put his desire in exe-
'cution was money.' This answer was brought to
Perfes at Stubera, whilst he was busy selling the Illy-
rican prisoners. He immediately sent back the same
envoys, adding in commission with them Glaucias
one of his body guards, without making any men-
tion of money, which alone could have induced the
poor Barbarian to take up arms. Perfes after laying
waste Ancyra ^d, led back his army to Penestæ, and
having reinforced Uscania and all the circumjacent
towns with strong garisons, returned to Macedonia.

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L. CÆLIUS, the Roman governor of Illyri-
cum, who durst not stir out of his quarters, while
Perfes was in that country; as soon as he left it,
made an attempt to recover Uscania; but being re-
pulsed with great loss by the Macedonian garison,
retired to Lychnis. A few days after he sent M. Tre-
bellius, a Fregellan, with a strong detachment into
the canton of Penestæ, to receive hostages from those
cities, which had firmly adhered to their alliance with
Rome. He also ordered him to go to the Parthini,
who had likewise engaged to give hostages, and to
demand them of both nations without tumult. The
Penestare hostages were sent to Apollonia, and the
Parthinian to Dyrrachium, which was better known
to the Greeks by the name of Epidamnus. In
the mean time Ap. Claudius desiring to wipe off the
shame of his defeat in Illyricum, made an attempt on
Phanote ^a, a city of Epirus. Besides a Roman army

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^a Now *Maranai*, divides *Macedonia* from *Upper Mysia*.

^d At the foot of the *Cambunian* mountains.

^b Now *Iskodar*, in *Dalmatia*.

^c Near *Thesprotia* and *Chaonia*.

^c Now *Alessio*, in *Albania*.

CHAP. he brought with him 6000 Athamanians and Thes-
 XXI. protians. However he did not succede ; for Clevas,
 whom Perſes had left there with a ſtrong garifon,
 defended it with great bravery. Perſes himſelf ſet
 out for Elemais, whence after reviewing his army he
 led it to Stratos at the deſire of the Epirotes. Stratos
 is a city of Ætolia ſituate on the Ambracian gulph
 near the river Achelous. As the roads were narrow
 and rugged, he carry'd with him only 10000 foot
 and 300 horſe. In three days he reached mount Ce-
 tius, which he paſſed with difficulty by reaſon of the
 deepneſs of the ſnow, and when he had got over it,
 he could ſcarce find ground to encamp in. Where-
 fore departing thence, becauſe he could not ſtay ra-
 ther than becauſe either the way or ſeaſon was tolera-
 ble, with incredible fatigue, eſpecially to his baggage
 horſe, he got in two days into a camp near the tem-
 ple of Apollo at Nicæus. From thence after a long
 march he was ſtopt by the overflowing of the river
 Arachtus^b. He immediately laid a bridge over it, and
 after one day's march met Archidamus, chief of the
 Ætolians, who came to deliver Stratos into his hands.

CHAP. THE ſame day he encamped on the confines of
 XXII. Ætolia. Next day he came before Stratos, and en-
 camped on the river Achelous. Here he expected
 that the Ætolians would have met him in crowds to
 put themſelves under his protection ; but he found
 their gates ſhut, and that the very night of his arrival
 they had admitted a Roman garifon under command
 of C. Popillius. The principal men, who, overawed
 by Archidamus's preſence, had ſent for Perſes, went
 out very ſlowly to meet him, and gave the oppoſite
 faction an opportunity to ſend for Popillius with this
 garifon from Ambracia. At the ſame time Dinar-
 chus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, arrived very
 ſeaſonably with 600 foot and 100 horſe. It was well
 known, that the deſign of his coming was to ſerve
 Perſes ; but changing his mind with fortune, he join-
 ed the Romans whom he at firſt intended to oppoſe.

^b Now the *Spægmagmurifi*, paſſes through *Epirus*, and falls into the gulph
 of *Larta*.

However Popilius took all the precautions he ought amongst so fickle a people; he ordered the keys of the gates and guard of the walls to be delivered to him; removing Dinarchus, the Ætolians, and the youth of Stratos into the citadel, under pretext of defending it. Perseus sounded the inclinations of the inhabitants, in conferences from a hill that commanded the city; but finding them inflexible, and even that they beat him off with darts, he withdrew five miles from the city behind the river Petitarus. Having called a council of war, Archidamus and the Epirote fugitives persuaded him to invest the place; but the Macedonian officers dissuaded him, 'from fighting against the season of the year, having no provisions ready: for he would be sooner starved than the besieged, especially as the enemy's winter quarters were at no great distance.' By these discouragements he retired to Aperantia, where the inhabitants received him with unanimous consent, for the sake of Archidamus, who had great credit and influence with them. In consequence he left Archidamus governor of it, with a garison of 800 men.

THE king's army suffered as much toil and fatigue in their return to Macedonia, as they had done in their march from thence. However the report of this march to Stratos, made Appius raise the siege of Phanotes. Clevas pursued him with a body of chosen youth, and at the foot of some impassable mountains killed 1000 of his rear and took 200 prisoners. The Romans having passed the defiles, encamped a few days in the plain of Eleos. In the mean time Clevas, in conjunction with Philostratus governor of Epirus, made an incursion upon the territories of Antigonía. The Macedonians dispersed to pillage, while Philostratus lay in ambush with his men in a concealed post. The youth of Antigonía sally'd out in arms against the ravagers, and pursuing them without precaution, fell in with the enemy who lay in ambush. The latter killed 1000 of them, took 100 prisoners, and after this success approached Appius's camp, to prevent the Romans from injuring their

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their allies. Appius having spent his time to no purpose and dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirote guards, returned with his Italian troops into Ilyricum, where he distributed them into winter quarters among the cities of the Parthini in alliance with the Romans, and returned himself to Rome to perform some sacrifices. Perſes ſent for 1000 foot and 200 horſe out of Penestæ, and detached them to garrison Caſſandrea. In the mean time his envoys returned from Gentius with the ſame answer as before. However Perſes did not ceaſe to importune him, by ſeveral embaffies one after another, when he ſaw what a great acceſſion of ſtrength he could bring him; and yet he could not perſuade himſelf to expend money upon what was of the greateſt moment to him. [This proved the ruin of both Gentius and himſelf.

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XXIV.

WHILST by this means the Roman empire was enlarged, and the eſtates of private perſons increaſed, eſpecially by the ſpoils of Macedonia, luxury and profuſion augmented in proportion to their wealth, and gave occaſion to a new law. As the female ſex was moſt obnoxious to extravagant expences, having leſs opportunity to fall into more heinous crimes, it was thought fit to guard againſt too great a ſhare of the riches of the ſtate falling into their poſſeſſion. For this purpoſe a tribune of the people, Q. Voconius Saxa, to ſhew himſelf as ſevere a cenſor to the ladies, as Claudius and Gracchus had been to the men, got a law paſſed by the people, providing, ‘ that no perſon, who
 ‘ ſince the cenſorſhip of Q. Fulvius and A. Poſthumius, that is,
 ‘ within the five years laſt paſt, had been ranked in one of the
 ‘ claſſes of the Roman cenſors, ſhould by will make a daughter
 ‘ or any woman his heir, and thoſe were to be reckoned among
 ‘ the richer ſort, and in the firſt claſs, whoſe portion amounted
 ‘ to above 100000 aſſes of braſs.’ The women preſently took the alarm, and exerted themſelves to ward off this blow. They alſo found advocates, who with very plauſible reaſons defended their cauſe. In conſequence the ladies beſtired themſelves as much now, in a more material point, as they had done twenty one years before, in the conſulate of Valerius and Cato, againſt the Oppian law, for the recovery of their dreſs and trinkets, which are their all. A love of neatneſs and finery was their ſole motive before; but now they were actuated by avarice and unlimited expences, both arguments ſufficiently powerful to make them undertake the moſt daring actions. Neither is it eaſy to determine which of them was of greater weight, ſince it is a moot-point, whether their beauty or riches charm the men moſt, or whether the one does not pleaſe the men as much as the

the other does themselves. The nobility and commons were divided into factions on this occasion, and each, according to his capacity, understanding or hopes, supported or opposed the bill. Some affirmed ' that the public liberty was concerned in the ' case. This they looked on as a small essay to subvert it, but ' if it succeeded they would for the future undermine it totally ' by degrees. For what hereafter would be free, if the most ' ample privilege of bequeathing to whomever one pleases one's ' estate, granted by the twelve tables to all as absolute disposers ' of their own private and personal fortunes, and observed in- ' violate for many ages, should by a new and special law be ' taken away? Strange! to treat as aliens, and persons incapa- ' ble of common right, such as have the same common house- ' hold Gods, the same common children, and the same sacred ' rites with their husbands, as if they were not equally members ' of the state. It would be better to banish them into solitudes ' and deserts, and condemn them to perpetual exile, if they were ' grown weary of them, and the republic could subsist without ' them. Sure it looked shameful, to allow the women their ' share of their wealth while the republic was poor, and deprive ' them of it when it was rich. The fair sex did not only serve ' to propagate the human race, educate children, or by their ' blandishments delight their husbands; but often even outdid ' the men in their exemplary virtue, noble actions and prudent ' counsels: nay, with those very riches, which, God deliver us, ' are become the object of envy, they supported and season- ' ably relieved our tottering state, when almost overthrown by ' Hannibal's arms.' To move compassion they added, ' the ' toils peculiar to the sex, and the dangers of child-bearing, as ' formidable to them as wars were to the men.' Nor did they forget ' that to the women was committed the custody of the ' eternal fire of Vesta, on which the fate of their empire de- ' pended.' But all those arguments were invalidated by M. Cato, who in his old age steadfastly adhered to the maxims he had maintained in his youth. His speech on this occasion may be seen in his fifth book *De originibus*; but it will suffice in this place to give only the substance of it. Though he was then sixty five years of age, he spoke with an audible voice, and shewed that his lungs were perfectly sound. ' If, said he, the condition ' of men and women are to be the same, in vain has the di- ' stinction of male and female kindred been observed from the ' infancy of the republic. It was far from the intent of the ' twelve tables, that women should succede as heirs: for the ' preserving the name and honor of families, they had ordained ' that each man's sons, and failing them the nearest male relation ' should succede to his estate, which was agreeable to natural right. ' Neither was the power of leaving their estates to whom they ' pleased, granted to fathers of families, that, blinded by the ' blandishments of women, they should transfer their estates into ' strange families; but rather to enable them to consult the in- ' terest

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XXIV.

terest of their families, by leaving the gross of their estates to their sons, and competent portions to their daughters. Yet still care should be taken to make women esteem chastity, parsimony and dutiful regard as their best dowry. To what purpose did our ancestors provide, that they should be under the guardianship of parents, brothers and male relations, if they were suffered to squander immense riches, and by the help thereof break through all laws and rules of modesty.' In fine, he inveighed with so much vehemence against the incapacity of women, and painted their extravagance in so lively colors, that he extorted an unanimous approbation from all the assembly; especially when he urged, 'that though they brought a large portion to their husbands, yet they reserved more considerable sums, than they would vouchsafe them, at their own disposal. This they would afterwards lend the husbands at their request; but as often as they quarrel'd, they would set a slave, reserved as their own, to haunt and dun their husbands as importunately, as if they were strange debtors.' This so enraged the tribes, that they passed the Voconian law.']

BOOK XLIV.

Q. Marcius Philippus penetrates into Macedonia through unpassable forests, and takes many towns. The Rhodians send ambassadors to Rome threatening to assist Perses, unless the Romans would enter into peace and amity with him. This taken very ill. That war being again committed to L. Æmilius Paullus, consul for the year ensuing, he prays in an assembly that whatever mischief was ready to fall on the Roman state, might be turned upon his house; and marching into Macedonia defeats Perses, and subdues that whole kingdom. Before the battle C. Sulpicius Gallus, a legionary tribune, forewarns the army of an eclipse of the moon the night following, to prevent their being surprized. Gentius likewise, king of Illyricum, having rebelled, is defeated, and reduced by Anicius the prætor, and sent to Rome with his wife, children, and relations. Ambassadors come from Alexandria from Ptolomy and Cleopatria, complaining of Antiochus king of Syria, who made war upon them. Perses having solicited Eumenes king of Pergamum, and Gentius king of the Illyrians for aid, is deserted by them because he did not pay them the money he had promised.

CHAP.

I.

IN the beginning of the spring, which succeeded that winter in which these affairs were transacted, *Q. Marcius Philippus* the consul marching from Rome with 5000 men (which he was to carry over with

with him for recruiting the legions) came to Brundisium. M. Popillius, a man of consular dignity, and other youths of like high birth, accompanied the consul in quality of legionary tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. About the same time C. Marcius Figulus, the prætor, whose province was to command the fleet, came to Brundisium, and sailing from Italy together, they made Corcyra the next day, and on the third reached Actium, a port of Acarnania. Then the consul, disembarking at Ambracia, marched by land into Thessaly. The prætor, having doubled cape Leucate, entered the gulph of Corinth, and leaving his ships at Creusa, went himself cross Boeotia, and in one day's quick march got to the fleet at Chalcis. A. Hostilius was at that time encamped near Palæpharsalus^a in Thessaly; though he had performed no warlike exploit worth mentioning, yet he had brought the army from an unbounded licentiousness into the strictest military discipline, behaved faithfully towards the allies, and defended them from all kind of injuries. Hearing of the arrival of his successor, he made a diligent review of his men, arms and horses, and went out to meet the consul at his arrival with his army in good order. Their first interview was agreeable to their own dignity, and that of the Roman name, and of great advantage to Marcius in his future operations; for the pro-consul turning to the troops, exhorted them to behave gallantly, and delivering them to the consul returned to Rome. A few days after the consul made a speech to the soldiers. He began with the parricide committed by Perſes upon his brother, and, in effect, upon his father; and then added, 'his obtaining the kingdom by wicked means, his poisonings, murders, and his base attempts to assassinate Eumenes, his injuries done to the Romans, and pillaging the towns in alliance with them contrary to treaty: that he would be made sensible in the issue of his affairs how abominable all these things

^a Old Pharsalus in Phthiotis.

* were even to the Gods: for they favored piety and
 * justice, by which the Romans had arrived to such
 * a pitch of grandeur. He then compared the
 * strength of the Roman people, now lords of the
 * universe, with the strength of Macedonia; and
 * the armies of the one with the armies of the other.
 * How much greater (says he) was the power of
 * Philip and Antiochus, which yet was vanquished
 * by no greater an army?

CHAP. II. HAVING animated the foldiers by this warm
 harangue, he began to deliberate on the operations of
 the campaign. Thither also came C. Marcius the
 prætor from Chalcis, after he had taken upon him
 the command of the fleet. They agreed, not to waste
 the time by tarrying any longer in Theffaly, but
 immediately to decamp and march from thence into
 Macedonia; and that the prætor should take care at
 the same time that the fleet should infest the enemy's
 coasts. After the prætor was dismissed, the consul
 ordered the foldiers to carry a month's provisions
 with them, and decamping began his march the 10th
 day after he had taken upon him the command. At
 the end of his first day's march he called his guides,
 and ordered them to declare before his council which
 rout each of them intended to take. When they
 were withdrawn, he refer'd it to the council to chuse
 which they would. Some were for marching through
 Pythium; some for going over the Cambunian
 mountains, the same way that Hostilius the consul
 had marched last year; and others for keeping along
 by the marsh of Asciris^a. There yet remained some
 part of the common road; therefore their coming to
 a resolution on that affair was postponed till they
 should encamp near the place where the ways parted.
 From thence he marched to Perrhæbia, and halted
 some time between Azorus and Doliche^b, that he
 might again consider what rout to take. At the
 same time Perfes, knowing that the enemy approach-

^a Unknown.
 Tripolitia.

^b Both stood on the confines of *Theffaly* in *Pelagonia*

ed, but uncertain what rout he had taken, resolved CHAP.
to post guards at all the avenues: 10000 light troops II.
were detached under command of Asclepiodotus, to guard the tops of the Cambunian mountains, which they call Volustana. Hippias was posted with 12000 Macedonians to defend a fort upon the lake Ascuris, named Lapathus. The king in person with the rest of his army encamped at first about Dium. But afterwards seeming to be at his wit's end, he scoured the neighboring coasts with a body of light horse, sometimes towards Heracleum^c, at other times towards Phila, and then returning to Dium with as much haste.

IN the mean time the consul came to a resolution CHAP.
to march through that pass near Octolophus, where III.
king Philip had encamped, as we have formerly mentioned. Nevertheless he thought proper to send a detachment of 4000 men before, to seize some important posts, under the command of M. Claudius, and Q. Marcius his own son: and the whole army immediately followed. But the way was so steep and craggy, that the detachment sent before could hardly march fifteen miles in two days. They encamped at the foot of a fort, which they took, called Eudieru. From whence having advanced seven miles the next day, and taken possession of an eminence not far from the enemy's camp, they sent back a messenger to tell the consul, that they were come within a proper distance of the enemy, and had encamped on a post that was secure and convenient for any enterprize; desiring he might follow them with all possible haste. The courier found the consul on the banks of the lake Ascuris, uneasy on account of the difficulties of the march he had undertaken, and under great apprehensions for the detachment he had sent before him, amongst the middle of the enemy's advanced guards. He was therefore much encouraged with the news, and joining them encamped on the side of the hill, with their tents placed in rows

^c At the foot of the *Olympus*, in the entrance of the *Thermaic Gulph*

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III.



one above another, suitable to the nature of the ground they occupied. From this eminence they saw not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile from them, but all the country about Diom and Phila, and the sea itself, which bounded the prospect. The soldiers were exceedingly animated at having so near a view of the main business of the war, the king's whole army, and the enemy's country. Therefore they cheerfully demanded of the consul to be led on to attack without delay; but he allowed them one day to rest themselves, after the fatigues of this march. The third day the consul, leaving a part of his forces to guard the camp, drew out his men against the enemy.

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IV.



HIPPITAS had been lately detached by the king to defend the pass. This general from the time he saw the Romans encamped on the hill, prepared his soldiers for an engagement, and marched to meet the consul's army whenever it began to move. The light troops on both sides were the first who advanced, as being the most proper to begin the fight. They instantly engaged with missile weapons. Many wounds were received and given on both sides in this disorderly attack, and several men killed. Their minds being irritated with this, the next day they would have had a fiercer engagement, and with more forces, if the ground had been spacious enough for forming the two armies; but the hill grew narrower and narrower all the way down, and was scarce broad enough at bottom for posting two or three manipuli abreast. Therefore only a few engaging, the rest of the multitude, especially such as bore heavy armor, stood as spectators of the battle: the light armed run along the turnings and windings of the hill on both sides to charge the enemy, without regard to the evenness or ruggedness of the ground. That day there were more wounded than kill'd, and night put an end to the fight. On the third day the Roman general was at a stand; for he could not continue on the hill being destitute of provisions, nor retreat without dishonor,

nor, and even danger. If he should go down into the flat country, the enemy would fall upon him: so the only expedient he had left, was to pursue an enterprize with vigor, that had been formed with too much boldness, a tenacious perseverance sometimes proving successful. Matters were come to that pass, that if the consul had been to act against an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedonia, he might have received a great blow. But the king continued in a flying camp about Dium, with his cavalry along the shores, and, being but twelve miles off, could almost hear the shouts thus raised in fighting; without enlarging his forces by sending fresh men to relieve those that were fatigued, or appearing in person at the head of his army, which was of great consequence: whilst on the other hand the Roman general, though above sixty years old and very corpulent, acted the part both of a general and soldier at the same time. He continued firm to the last in his bold enterprize; and leaving Popillius to guard the hill, entered upon a very difficult march, having sent some before him to clear the way. He gave orders to Attalus^a and Misagenes^b, each with a body of auxiliaries of their respective nations, to guard those that beat down and levelled the roads; next followed the cavalry with the baggage, and himself with the legions brought up the rear.

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THE inexpressible fatigue they underwent in getting down, with the loss of horses and their loads, while they had hardly yet advanced four miles, made them think nothing more desirable than to return back to the place they came from, if it were possible. The elephants in particular gave them as much disturbance almost as an enemy could have done; for when they came to an unpassable place, they threw their riders, and with hideous roaring frightened the horses; till the following expedient was found for getting them down the precipices. Along the steep parts of the mountain they laid two long beams, sustained at top

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^a A Pergamenian.^b A Numidian.

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v.

by the ground, and at their lower extremities by piles driven into the earth; they were distant from each other something more than the breadth of the body of an elephant. Across these two beams they laid planks thirty foot long, which formed a kind of Bridge, and covered them with earth. Below this bridge, at some distance, a second of the same kind was erected; then a third, and so on wherever the rocks were too steep. The elephant walked firm upon the bridge, but before he came to the end of it, the props were cut, the bridge fell, and the animal was obliged to slide gently down to the beginning of another. This some of them did standing upright, and others squatting on their buttocks. When they were come to the level of another bridge, they advanced quietly till they were let down by a like fall, and so on till they were brought to the plains where the roads were more passable. The Romans did not march much above seven miles a day, and very little of this journey was made on foot, being often obliged to slide along the ground with their arms and other burdens to their great vexation; so that even the author and leader of their march was obliged to confess, that the whole army might have been cut in pieces by a handful of men. At night they arrived in a valley not very large; neither had they opportunity of examining if the place was secure or not, it being surrounded on all sides. Having at length beyond expectation got firm ground to rest upon, they were forced to tarry all the next day in this deep valley, to wait for Popilius and his troops, who were likewise terribly harassed by the badness of the roads, though they had met with no alarms from the enemy. The third day they joined the main body, and went thorough a defile called Callipeuce in the language of the country. On the fourth day, marching from thence, they went through as difficult places, but the fatigue was become more supportable by habit, and the fears of his troops lessened, because the enemy no where appeared, and they drew near to the sea. They en-

camped

camped on the plains between Heracleum and Libethrum*, the greatest part of the foot being posted on the eminences, whilst the rest, with the horse, were lodged in the valley.

CHAP.
VI.



THE king is reported to have received information of the enemy's approach whilst he was bathing. At the news he jump'd out of the bath in a consternation, crying out, that he was conquered without giving battle. He became restless and irresolute, perpetually shifting his place and posture, and often changing his designs. He caused the two officers, whom he had posted to guard the passes, to retire, and left open all the avenues of his kingdom. He caused all the gilt statues which were at Dium to be hurried on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, and removed in haste to Pydna; and gave an air of prudence to the temerity of the consul, who had engaged himself in a country, from which he had never got off if his enemies had been in their senses. For the Romans had only two ways by which they might extricate themselves out of this danger; the one by passing through the pass of Tempe, in order to enter Theffaly; the other by Dium, to enter Macedonia; both which posts were occupied by the king's troops. If the king therefore had had a little more resolution, and had withstood the terror he was seized with on the approach of the Romans only for ten days, they could neither have retired through Tempe into Theffaly, nor have had provisions in the defiles into which they had advanced. For Tempe is a defile very difficult to pass, though there were no enemy to dispute it. Besides the straits, which for five miles together are but just broad enough for a loaded mule to pass, the rocks on both sides are so steep, that men can scarce look down the precipice without giddiness both of the mind and eyes. The depth and noise of the river Peneus that runs through the middle of the valley is likewise dreadful. This place, so dangerous

* In *Magnesia*, near mount *Helicon*.

CHAP. VI. in it's own nature, was guarded by the king's troops in four different places. One at Gonni, at the entrance of the pass: the second at Condylon, an impregnable fortress: the third about Lapathus, which they call Characa: the fourth in the path itself, about the middle and narrowest part of it, and which was capable of being defended by ten well armed men. Thus the Romans, not being able to receive provisions through the valley of Tempe, nor to pass there themselves, would have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they had descended; which though it might have been done by a stolen march, would have been impracticable in an open manner, while the enemy continued to occupy the eminences: besides, the experienced difficulty would have cut off all their hopes. They would then have had no other resource in this rash enterprize than to penetrate into Macedonia on the side of Dium, by passing through the enemy, which would not have been less difficult, if the Gods had not deprived the king of counsel and prudence. For there being but little more than a mile's distance between the foot of mount Olympus and the sea, the half of which space is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphyrus, which overflows, and thereby makes unpassable lakes (besides, that the town, and the temple of Jupiter, commands part of the plain) the rest might easily have been shut up by making a fosse and entrenchments. And there was such plenty of wood and stones on the spot, that they might have built a wall and erected turrets. But the king's terror had thrown him into such a blindness of mind, that he neither saw nor did any thing that might save him; he left all the entrances into his kingdom open to the enemy, and took refuge at Pydna.

CHAP. VII. THE consul, seeing that he might hope every thing from the imprudence and remissness of the enemy, sent orders to Sp. Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts adjacent to Tempe, which the enemy had abandoned; and sent Popillius before him

him to reconnoitre the passes near Dium. When he knew that the ways were open and undefended, he advanced, and arriving at Dium the second day, made his army encamp near the temple, to prevent it from being plundered. When he entered the city, which though not very large, yet was full of magnificent buildings and statues, and very well fortified, he was astonished to find that it had been so easily abandoned, and therefore was in fear of a surprize. He continued there one day to search all the avenues to it, and then left it. Believing he had provisions enough for continuing his march, he proceeded that day to the river Mitys. The next day he marched forward, and the town Agassa submitted to him voluntarily; from which, that he might gain the affections of the rest of the Macedonians, he only demanded hostages, promising to leave the town to them without a garison, and that they should enjoy their liberty and their own laws. From thence advancing a day's journey, he encamped by the river Ascordus, but the farther he proceeded from Theffaly, the less subsistence he found for his troops, and the famine increased in proportion, and therefore he returned to Dium; it being now manifest to all men, what he must have suffered had he been shut out from Theffaly, since it was not safe for him even to be at any great distance from it. Perseus, drawing together all his forces and generals, reproached the commanders of his garisons, especially Asclepiodotus and Hippias, affirming, it was they that opened the passages of Macedonia to the Romans; of which crime none could be more justly accused than himself. The consul, after being put in hopes, by seeing his fleet at sea, that the ships were coming with provisions (for victuals were very scarce) was informed by those that were already landed, that his transport ships were got no further than Magnesia. Being then at his wit's end (for the difficulties he had to struggle with were very great of themselves, without any aggravation from the attacks of the enemy) a courier came very seasonably from

Sp. Lucretius, with advice, that he had seized on all the fortresses on the valley of Tempe, and about Phila, and had found plenty of corn and other necessities in them.

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THE consul, being very glad of the news, marched from Dium to Phila, as well to reinforce the garrison of that place, as to distribute corn to his soldiers, the conveying of which had been retarded. This step occasioned reflections not much in the consul's favor; for some gave out, that he fled to avoid fighting Perſes, who was preparing to give him battle; others, that he was unskilled in the art of war, the fortune of which was daily fluctuating, in that he had, when occasion offered, let slip those advantages which could not be easily recovered. For by abandoning Dium, he awakened the enemy, so as now to perceive he must recover those places he had before lost by his timidity. For as soon as he heard of the consul's departure, he returned to Dium, repaired the ravages the Romans had committed, rebuilt the battlements of the walls that had been thrown down, and strengthened them every where with new fortifications. From thence he went and encamped at five miles distance from the town, on the nearer bank of the river Enipeus, being resolved to make the river itself a barrier, it being very difficult to pass. It springs from the bottom of mount Olympus, and in summer is only a small rivulet, but in the winter, being swelled with the rains, it rolls down the mount with a great noise, and by the rapidity of its fall carries much earth along with it into the sea, whereby deep whirlpools are made, the middle of its channel being hollowed, and its banks rendered steep on both sides. Perſes, believing this river would put a stop to the enemy's march, resolved to continue here the rest of the campaign. In the meantime the consul sent Popillius from Phila to Heraclæum with 2000 men. It is almost five miles from Phila, in the middle between Dium and Tempe, situated on a rock which overlooks the river.

POPILLIUS, before he began to attack the walls, sent to advise the magistrates and chief men of the place, 'to make trial rather of the justice and clemency of the Romans, than of the force of their arms.' Those advices had no influence upon them, because they could see the fires in the king's camp on the banks of Enipeus. Then the siege was undertaken with arms, works and warlike engines, both by land and sea, for the fleet was within reach. Some young Romans also, by applying to the use of war an exercise they had learnt in the Circensian games, carried the foot of the wall. It was the custom in those times (when the magnificence of the games was not thought to consist in the great number of wild beasts of all nations with which the circus was filled) to exhibit divers kinds of fights after the chariot and horse races were over, which scarce lasted above an hour. Amongst others, about 600 youths, sometimes more, were introduced in armor by the marshals of the games. Their motions partly represented a mock battle; and partly a more elegant exercise than of the military art, and came nearer to the practice of fencers. After they had performed their other evolutions, they formed a square battalion, and holding their bucklers over their heads, the first rank standing upright, the second stooping, the third and fourth still more, and the last even kneeling, they formed a sloping tortoise resembling the roof of a house. Upon this, at the distance of about fifty foot, two of the warriors came to the charge and flurished at one another, then getting up from the lower side of the tortoise to the higher, over the close bucklers, they sometimes made a shew of defending it at the extremities, and sometimes falling foul of one another in the middle, capering as if they had been upon firm ground. The soldiers by applying such a tortoise as this to part of the wall, raised themselves to an equal height with those that defended it, and beating them off, two companies got into the town. In this only it differed, that the soldiers in the front and flanks of

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IX.



this tortoise, did not cover their heads with their bucklers, lest their bodies should be exposed, but held them after the manner of combatants. Thus they received no hurt from the darts that were thrown down upon them from the ramparts, and as for what was thrown on the tortoise, it slid down it without doing any hurt, as rain from the roof of a house. And now the consul being master of Heracleum, came and encamped near it, as if he intended to march to Diium, and having driven the king from thence, to advance into Pieria likewise. But as he was preparing for his winter quarters, he gave orders for making the roads good, for the conveyance of provisions out of Thessaly, and to erect magazines in convenient places; and built houses for the convenient lodging of those that guarded the convoys.

CHAP.

X.



P E R S E S, at length having recovered his fright with his reason, would have been very glad if his orders for throwing his treasures at Pella into the sea, and for burning all his galleys at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus who was sent to Thessalonica, had delay'd the affair, to leave room for repentance, as it really happened. Nicias, who had not so much precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea; but his fault was soon remedied by divers, who brought up almost all that money from the bottom. And so great was the king's shame for the abject error to which he had abandoned himself, that he caused all the divers to be put to death secretly; and afterwards Andronicus and Nicias also, that no witness of such mad orders might remain. In the mean time C. Marcius sailed with the fleet from Heracleum to Thessalonica, and making a descent, laid waste a great part of the country: he also fought some successful skirmishes with the townsmen that sally'd out, and drove them back in confusion. And now he was become terrible to the town itself; but they brought so many balistæ on their ramparts, that not only the stragglers that approached the walls too rashly, but even those in the ships were



were wounded with stones thrown from them. The soldiers were therefore recalled to the ships, and laying aside the siege of Thessalonica, they went from thence to Ænia. That town is about fifteen miles distant, and situated overagainst Pydna in a fertile soil. Having ravaged it's territories they coasted along and came to Antigonía. There making a descent, they first ravaged the country, and carried some booty to their ships; but the Macedonians attacking them whilst in disorder with a mixture of horse and foot, pursued them with eagerness to the shore, killing almost 500, and taking as many prisoners. And nothing but the utmost necessity roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, as well through despair of saving themselves any other way as through the disgrace they had suffered, being deprived of a safe retreat to their ships. The battle was renewed on the shore, and they were assisted by those that were on board. There about 200 of the Macedonians fell, and as many were made prisoners. From Antigonía the fleet sailed to Pellum, and made a descent in order to pillage the country. This was in the territories of Cassandrea, by far the most fruitful of all the coast which they had passed. There king Eumenes joined them with twenty ships of war from Elea, and five ships of war sent by king Prusias.



THIS reinforcement emboldened the prætor to attempt the taking of Cassandrea. It was built by king Cassander in that neck of land which joins the country of Pellene to the rest of Macedonia, and divides the Toronaic from the Thermaic gulph. The isthmus on which it stands is very high land, and reaches as high as to the height of mount Athos, facing Magnesia, with two unequal promontories, of which the greater is called Posideum, and the lesser Canastræum. They divided the attack between them. The Romans threw up intrenchments at the place called Clytæ, from the Thermaic to the Toronaic gulph, and even fixed up palisadoes of stakes and iron in form of deer's horns, to stop the passage. On the

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XI.

the other side ran the Euripus, and there Eumenes made his attack. The Romans found great difficulty in filling up the fossè, which Perſes had lately caused to be made. Then the prætor enquiring, by reason he could ſee no heaps, where the earth was laid that had been dug out of the fossè? they shewed him walls that had been built not equal in thickness to the old wall, but only with one row of bricks, and the middle space filled up with earth. Upon this he formed a resolution to open a passage into the town by digging through the wall. And he reckoned he might conceal his design from the besieged, if by attempting to scale the walls at another place, he should cause an alarm and divert the garison to the defence of that post. There was in the garison of Cassandrea, besides the youth of the town who made a considerable body, 800 Agrianes and 2000 Illyrians of Peneſta, sent from thence by Pleuratus; both were good warriors. Whilst they were defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in a moment the arched brick walls being dug through opened a passage into the town. And if the pioneers had been armed they would have immediately taken it. As soon as the soldiers were informed that this project was executed, all of a sudden they shouted for joy, some intending to break in at one place and some at another.

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XII.

THE enemy was at first struck with admiration, not knowing what might be the meaning of that sudden shout. But after they came to know that a breach was made, the commanders of the garison, Pytho and Philip, reckoning that whatever side should seize it first, would have the advantage, sallied out with a strong party of Agrianes and Illyrians; and falling upon the Romans who were assembling in different places in order to march into the city, and not yet formed, put them to flight and pursued them to the fossè, into which they drove them and filled it with their dead bodies. Near 600 were killed there, and very few of those that were surprized between

tween the wall and the fosse, escaped without wounds: The mischief of the prætor's own project thus recoiling upon himself, made him slower in forming other designs. Neither indeed had Eumenes, who made his attack by sea as well as land, met with better success. Therefore they both resolved to invest it so closely as to prevent any succors being thrown into it from Macedonia, and to batter the walls with their engines, since they had not succeeded by an open assault. Whilst they were settling these affairs, ten of the king's pinnaces, sent from Thessalonica with the flower of the Gaulic auxiliaries, perceiving the ships of the enemy at anchor in the road, kept as near shore as possible, and making use only of one bank of oars, got into town under favor of the night. The report of this new reinforcement compelled both Eumenes and the Romans to quit the siege; so they doubled the promontory, and appeared with the fleet before Torona^a. This likewise they attempted to besiege, but when they perceived that it was defended by a strong garison, they laid aside their enterprize and went to Demetrias; where finding on their approach that its walls were lined with soldiers, they sailed by it and made a descent at Iolcos^b; from thence, after having pillaged the country, they resolved still to attack Demetrias.

IN the mean time the consul, that he might not seem to idle away the campaign, sent M. Popillius with 5000 men to lay siege to Melibæa^c. This town is situate at the foot of mount Ossa, in that part of it which looks towards Thessaly, and overlooks Demetrias very conveniently. The first approach of the enemy struck terror into the inhabitants of the place, but afterwards recovering from their unexpected surprize, they took arms and ran to the gates and walls and wherever they had any suspicion of their entring. By this means they immediately cut off their hopes of taking it at the first assault. Therefore the Romans

^a In the *Paraxian* province, where *nesia*.
Castle *Rampo* stands.

^c At the foot of mount *Ossa*, near

^b Now the village of *Iaco* in *Mag-* the lake *Bælets*.

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resolved to invest it, and began to make the necessary preparations. Perſes, being informed that Melibæa was beſieged by the conſular army, and that at the ſame time the fleet was riding at Iolcos in order to attack Demetrias, ſent Euphranor, one of his generals, to Melibæa with 2000 choice men. He ordered him, ‘ if he could drive the Romans from Melibæa, to enter Demetrias by private roads before the Romans ſhould decamp from Iolcos to go thither.’ Upon his appearing of a ſudden to the beſiegers from the higher grounds, they relinquished and ſet fire to their works with great precipitation. Thus was the ſiege of Melibæa raiſed. Euphranor having raiſed the ſiege of one town, marched without delay to Demetrias. And then they thought themſelves not only able to defend their walls but even their lands from being plundered; and made ſallies upon the ſtraggling foragers, not without loſs to the enemy. Nevertheleſs the prætor and Eumenes went round the walls to reconnoitre it’s ſituation, and obſerve if it could be attacked in any place either by machines or open force. It was reported that a treaty of peace was negotiated between Eumenes and Perſes, by means of Cydas the Cretan and Antimachus the governor of Demetrias. Eumenes ſailed to the conſul, and having congratulated him upon his ſucceſſful entrance into Macedonia, went away to Pergamus, his own kingdom. M. Figulus the prætor, having ſent part of the fleet to winter at Sciathos^a, ſailed with the reſt of the ſhips to Oreum in Bœotia, judging that the moſt convenient town from whence provisions might be ſent to the armies in Macedonia and Theſſaly. There are many different reports concerning king Eumenes. If we believe Valerius Antias, ‘ he neither aſſiſted the prætor with his fleet, though often ſent for by letters, nor was his departure into Aſia to the conſul’s liking; for being enraged that they would not permit him to

^a An iſland in the *Ægean ſea* between the coaſt of *Magneſia*, and *Peparethus*.

‘ lodge in the same camp with them; nay, that he
 ‘ refused to leave the Gaulish horse he had brought
 ‘ along with him: but that his brother Attalus re-
 ‘ mained with the consul, continuing unshaken in his
 ‘ fidelity, and performing eminent services in that
 ‘ war.

WHILST the war was carrying on in Macedo-
 nia, embassadors came to Rome from a petty king
 of the Transalpin Gauls (his name is said to have
 been Balanos, but of what nation is not mentioned)
 with offers of assistance for the Macedonian war.
 They received thanks from the senate, and presents
 were made them. A gold chain of two pound weight,
 golden cups weighing four pounds, a horse with fur-
 niture and equestrian armor. Next after the Gauls
 the Pamphylian embassadors brought into the senate
 house a gold crown made of 20000 pieces of gold,
 called Philipusses, petitioning for leave to deposite it as a
 gift in the chapel of Jupiter, the greatest and the best
 of beings, and to sacrifice in the capitol. This was
 granted them, and a favorable answer returned to
 their embassadors, when they desired to renew the
 treaty of amity, together with a present to each of
 them of 2000 asses of brass. Then audience was
 granted to embassadors from king Prusias, and a lit-
 tle after to others from the Rhodians, who talked
 upon the same subject in quite different strains; the
 design of both the embassies was to mediate a peace
 with king Perseus. The speech of Prusias’s embassa-
 dors was rather a supplication than a demand. They
 declared, ‘ that their master had always adhered to
 ‘ the side of the Romans, and should always do so
 ‘ as long as the war continued. But for as much as
 ‘ embassadors had come to him from Perseus, about
 ‘ putting an end to the war with the Romans, and
 ‘ that he had promised them to employ his good of-
 ‘ fices with the senate for that purpose; he desired
 ‘ them, if they could resolve to lay aside their re-
 ‘ sentment, to let Perseus know, that it was out of re-
 ‘ spect to him, they had condescended to make
 ‘ peace.’

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‘peace.’ This was the purport of the king’s ambassadors harangue. The Rhodians after having in a haughty manner recounted the services they had rendered to the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest part of the victories, especially that gained over Antiochus, added, ‘that whilst peace subsisted between the Romans and Macedonians, they had entered into a league with king Perseus; that they had broke this league against their will, without any subject of complaint against him, because the Romans had thought fit to engage them in the war. That for three years time they had suffered many inconveniencies from that war; that their trade by sea being interrupted, their island was greatly straitned by the reduction of the revenues and other advantages they derived from it. That not being able to endure such considerable losses any longer, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to tell Perseus, that the Rhodians judged it necessary, he should make peace with the Romans. That they had been sent to Rome to make the same declaration: and that if either of the two powers refused to put an end to the war, the Rhodians would think of means to bring them to reason.’ I am certain, that even at this time these things cannot be read or heard without indignation, from whence it may be conjectured with what disposition the fathers received this discourse.

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XV.

CLAUDIUS tells us that no answer was given to it, but only a decree of the senate read in their presence, by which the Roman people declared the Carians and Lycians free, and ordered an express immediately to be sent to both nations to acquaint them therewith. And that upon hearing this, the chief ambassador, whose vain boasting but a little before the senate could scarce contain, fell into a swoon. But according to others, this reply was made them, ‘That the people of Rome, even in the beginning of this war, had been informed by very creditable authors, that the Rhodians had held secret intelligence with Perseus

Perſes againſt their republic; and if it had been doubtful before, the preſent ſpeech of their envoys put it beyond all queſtion; as for the moſt part fraud diſcovers itſelf, though it be ſomewhat cautious at firſt. That the Rhodians acted by their embaſſadors as if they were arbitrators of peace and war through the world. That the Romans would take up arms, and lay them down, at the pleaſure of the Gods. But now they were not to have the Gods as witneſſes of their leagues, but the Rhodians. Muſt they, forſooth, then be obeyed in this reſpect, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia? They would conſider what courſe they had beſt to take, what the Rhodians would think proper to follow was beſt known to themſelves. But the Romans, after the defeat of Perſes, which they hoped would be very ſpeedily, would conſider what they had to do, and treat every people according to their conduct in this war. The preſent however of 2000 aſſes of braſs was offered to each of the embaſſadors; but they would not accept them.

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A LETTER from Q. Marcius the conſul was afterwards read: in it he gave an account of his having entered Macedonia by ſecreſies. And that the prætor had got proviſions for him for the winter from thence as well as other places: and that the Epirots had ſupplied him with 20000 modii of wheat, and 10000 of barley, the price of which was to be paid in to their embaſſadors at Rome. That clothes muſt be ſent from the city for the ſoldiers. That he had occaſion for 200 Numidian horſe, if they could be had; for the country where he was ſupplied him with none. The ſenate decreed that all theſe things ſhould be done according to the conſul's letter. The prætor C. Sulpicius contracted for 6000 gowns, 30000 tunics, and the horſes to be transported into Macedonia, and diſtributed at the conſul's pleaſure, and paid the price of the corn to the embaſſadors of the Epirots. He alſo introduced

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ced into the senate Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always persuaded the king to continue the peace, and put him in mind, that his father Philip to the last day of his life, had always caused the treaty he had concluded with the Romans to be read to him twice every day; had exhorted him to observe that custom, if not always, at least pretty often. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he at first had withdrawn from his counsels under various pretexts, that he might not be a witness of the resolutions taken in them, which he did not approve. At last finding that he was become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he took refuge amongst the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. Having related all that has been said to the senate, he was ordered to be enrolled amongst their allies, and to be lodged and entertained at the public expence: they assigned him 200 acres of the public land at Tarentum, and a house to be purchased for him in that city; charging C. Decimus, the prætor, with the performance. The censors took a survey of the citizens on the 13th. of December in a more severe manner than usual. Many knights were degraded, amongst whom was P. Rutilius, who had accused them of enormous crimes in his tribunate: he was likewise turned out of his tribe, and deprived of his freedom. Half of that year's revenue was assigned them by the quæstors, by a decree of senate, for erecting public buildings. Ti. Sempronius with his part of the money purchased for the public use the almost decayed house of P. Africanus, near the statue of Vortumnus, together with the slaughterhouses and warehouses adjoining, and erected there a public hall, which was afterwards called Sempronia.

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xvii.

IT was now near the end of the year, and the Macedonian war being of such importance, it was the subject of all conversations, who should be chosen consuls for the ensuing year for putting an end to it. In consequence the senate ordered that Cn. Servilius

should

should be sent for as soon as possible to hold the comitia. The prætor Sulpicius accordingly sent him a copy of the senate's decree, and receiving an answer from him in a few days, signifying his compliance, he read it in the senate. The consul made haste, and the elections were held on the day appointed. The consuls elected were L. Æmilius Paulus for the second time, seventeen years after his first consulate, and C. Licinius Crassus. The next day, Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus, L. Anicius Gallus, Cn. Octavius, P. Fonteius Balbus, M. Æbutius Helva, and C. Papirius Carbo, were chosen prætors. The care of the Macedonian war excited them to a quicker dispatch of business than usual. Therefore it was thought proper that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known to which of the consuls Macedonia should fall, and which of the prætors should have the command of the fleet, that they might, without delay, consider of, and prepare necessities for the war, and consult the senate if there was occasion. That the magistrates should take care to celebrate the *feriæ latinæ*, as soon as they entered into office and other religious rites would permit, that the consul who was to go into Macedonia might not be detained. These decrees being passed, Italy and Macedonia were nominated for provinces to the consuls; and the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, to the prætors. Of the consular provinces Macedonia fell to Æmilius, and Italy to Licinius. The prætor Bæbius had the jurisdiction over citizens; Anicius that over foreigners, and to go where the senate should think fit; Octavius, the fleet; Fonteius, Spain; Æbutius, Sicily; and Papirius, Sardinia.

IT quickly appeared to all men that Æmilius would prosecute this war with vigor. For besides his being of a different character from their former generals, he applied himself carefully night and day to consider what things were necessary for it. First of all he demanded of the senate, that commissioners

CHAP. XVIII. should be sent into Macedonia, to inspect the armies and fleet, and to make report, after they had made an exact enquiry, what troops would be necessary both for land and sea service. They were also to inform themselves, as far as possible, of the condition of the king's troops, in what province the Romans were, as well as those of the enemy; whether the former had their camp in the defiles of the mountains, or had entirely passed them, and were in the plain: what allies were assuredly to be relied on, who those were whose fidelity seemed doubtful and wavering, and who were to be considered as declared enemies: for what time the army had provisions, and from whence they were to be brought either by land or sea carriage: what had passed during the last campaign, as well by land as sea: believing that from a thorough knowledge of these particulars he could take sure measures for the time to come. The senate ordered Cn. Servilius, the consul, to nominate such commissioners for Macedonia, as L. Æmilius should approve of. They were Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, A. Licinius Nerva, and L. Bæbius, who set out two days after. News was brought in the end of that year, that it had rained stones twice in the Roman territories, and once among the Veientes; a solemn festival was kept for nine days. There died of the priests that year, P. Quintilius Varus, priest of Mars, and M. Claudius Marcellus the decemvir, in whose place Cn. Octavius was substituted. And now magnificence increasng, it was remarked, that at the Circensian games exhibited by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and P. Lentulus, the curule ædiles, 63 panthers, and 40 bears and elephants, were brought into the amphitheatre.

CHAP. XIX. IN the beginning of the ensuing year, on the 15th of March, L. Æmilius Paullus and C. Licinius being consuls, whilst the fathers were in expectation of something of importance to be proposed to them concerning Macedonia by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; Paullus declared he had nothing

L. Æmil.
Paullus, and
C. Licinius,
consuls.

Y. of R. 584.
B. J. C. 168.

to lay before them till the return of the commissioners, who were still at Brundisium; having been twice driven back to Dyrrhachium by contrary winds. That as soon as he had got information of those things which were necessary to be known beforehand, he would lay the affair before them, and that would be in a very short time. And, that nothing might retard his departure, he acquainted them, that the 12th of April was appointed for the celebration of the *feriæ latinæ*. That when the sacrifices were regularly performed, he himself and Cn. Octavius would set out whenever the senate thought fit. That his colleague C. Licinius would take care, in his absence, to get ready and send whatever should be judged necessary for the war. In the mean time they might give audience to the ambassadors of foreign nations. The sacrifice being duly performed, the Alexandrian ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra were first introduced: they entered the hall in a sordid dress, with their hair and beards untrim'd, holding boughs of olive in their hands, and prostrated themselves before the fathers: their speech was more lamentable than their habit. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had been hostage at Rome, making war upon the younger Ptolemy, who then held Alexandria, under the specious pretext of restoring his elder brother to his throne, had gained a victory over him at Pelusium by sea, and in haste laying a bridge over the Nile, had passed that river with his army, and threatened Alexandria itself with a siege; and seemed on the point of getting possession of that most opulent kingdom. This the ambassadors complaining of, beg'd the senate to grant assistance to a kingdom and kings, that were well-wishers to their empire. They said, 'so great were the merits of the people of Rome towards Antiochus, and such their authority with all kings and nations, that if they sent ambassadors to declare to him that the senate were displeased with his making war upon kings in alliance with them, he would immediately retire from the walls of

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‘ Alexandria, and carry back his army into Syria.
 ‘ But if they delayed to do this, Ptolemy and Cleo-
 ‘ patra would in a short time be driven from their
 ‘ kingdom, and come to Rome, to the dishonor of
 ‘ the Roman people, in not succoring them in their
 ‘ extremity.’ The fathers were moved with the
 prayers of the Alexandrians, and immediately dis-
 patched C. Popillius Lænas, C. Decimius, and C.
 Hostilius, as ambassadors to put an end to the war
 between the kings. They were ordered first to wait
 on Antiochus, and then on Ptolemy, and to declare,
 that which soever of the two should refuse to make
 an end of the war, should no longer be considered as
 a friend and ally to the Romans.

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THESE three set out within three days, in com-
 pany of the Alexandrian ambassadors. Then the com-
 missioners arrived from Macedonia, during the last
 days of the festival of Minerva. They had been ex-
 pected with so great impatience, that if it had not
 been evening, the consuls would have immediately as-
 sembled the senate. The next day the senate met,
 and the commissioners had an audience. They re-
 ported, ‘ that the passes of Macedonia had been forc-
 ‘ ed with greater danger than advantage. The king
 ‘ was master of Pieria, into which the Roman army
 ‘ had advanced : that the two camps were very near
 ‘ each other, being only separated by the river Eni-
 ‘ peus. The king avoided a battle, and the Roman
 ‘ army was not in a condition to oblige him to it.
 ‘ The winter also had proved too severe for action.
 ‘ The army however must be maintained, and had
 ‘ not above six days provisions left. The Macedo-
 ‘ nian army was said to amount to 30000 men. If
 ‘ Appius Claudius had had a sufficient body of troops
 ‘ in the neighborhood of Lychnidus, he would have
 ‘ been able to have made a powerful diversion against
 ‘ the king: but that general, and the troops he had
 ‘ with him, were in very great danger, if a confide-
 ‘ rable reinforcement was not immediately sent him,
 ‘ or if he was not ordered to quit the post he occupi-
 ‘ ed.

ed. That from the camp they had repaired to the CHAP.
 fleet, where they had been informed, that part of XX.
 the men had died of diseases, and part had desert-
 ed, in particular the Sicilians had returned home;
 and that the fleet was in the utmost want of seamen;
 while those who remained had not received their pay,
 and wanted clothes. Eumenes and his fleet, after
 having shewn themselves a little, had disappeared
 almost immediately, without any good reasons that
 could be given for it; and that it seemed as if they
 could not rely upon the disposition of that king:
 but that as to Attalus, his fidelity was not to be
 doubted.

THE commissioners being heard, L. Æmilius CHAP.
 laid a state of the war before the senate. The senate XXI.
 decreed, that for the eight legions a sufficient num-
 ber of tribunes should be chosen, one half by the
 consuls and the other by the people; and that
 none be chosen for that year, except such as had
 born some honorable office. Then out of all the
 tribunes L. Æmilius should have the liberty of
 chusing whom he thought fit for the two legions
 which were designed for Macedonia, and that when
 the solemnity of the *feriæ latinæ* was over, L. Æ-
 milius the consul, and Cn. Octavius the prætor,
 who had the command of the fleet, should set out
 for their provinces. There was added to them a
 third, L. Anicius, the prætor to whom the jurisdic-
 tion of foreigners had fallen. He was appointed to
 succede Ap. Claudius in the neighborhood of Lych-
 nidus in Illyricum. C. Licinius the consul had the
 charge of the new levies, being ordered to raise 7000
 Roman citizens, and 200 horsemen; and of the La-
 tin allies 7000 foot and 400 horse: and to write to
 Cn. Servilius, governor of the province of Gaul, to
 levy 600 horse. This army he was ordered to send
 into Macedonia to his colleague with all possible dis-
 patch, for there were not above two legions in that
 province, which were to be filled up to the number of
 6000 foot and 300 horse each. The rest of the foot

CHAP. XXI. and horse were to reinforce garifons, and fuch of them as were unfit for military fervice to be difcharged. Befides thefe 10000 infantry and 800 cavalry were levied of the allies. Thefe compofed the army of Anicius, befides the two legions he was ordered to carry into Macedonia, confifting of 5200 foot and 300 horse each ; and 5000 men were levied for the fervice of the fleet. Licinius the conful was ordered to hold his province with two legions, and to add to them 10000 foot and 600 horse of the allies.

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AFTER all thefe regulations had been made, the conful L. Æmilius went from the fenate to the afsembly of the people, and made the following fpeech.

‘ Romans, I have obferved you have done me greater honor, fince the province of Macedonia fell to my lot, than either when I was faluted conful, or on the day of my entering upon office ; and that for no other reafon, but becaufe you have conceived hopes that this war, which has been fpun out to a great length, will be terminated under my auspices, to the glory of the Roman people. I hope alfo that the Gods have favored this lot, and that they will fupport me in the management of the war. Thefe things I can partly conjecture, and partly hope for. But this I dare venture to affirm, that I fhall ufe my utmoft endeavors not to frustrate your expectation. The fenate has regulated every thing neceffary for the expedition with which I am charged, and as they have ordered me to fet out immediately, and I am in readinefs, C. Licinius, my colleague, full of zeal for the public good, will provide for it with the fame ardor and expedition as if it was for himfelf. You may rely upon the certainty of the advices I fhall fend either to the fenate or you. But I defire that you will not cherifh, by your credulity, flying reports, and fuch as have no certain author. For even at this time I have obferved, that in the manner in which things pafs amongft you, efpecially fince the beginning of this war, there is no general, let him contemn com-

mon report ever so much, whom the discourses held here would not discourage. There are people who in circles and conversations, and even, God deliver us! at table, lead armies into Macedonia; know where they should encamp; what posts should be seized; at what time, or by what defile, Macedonia is to be entered; where it is proper to settle magazines; by what way, either by sea or land, provisions must be brought; when it is necessary to give the enemy battle, and when to lye still. And they not only prescribe what is best to be done, but if their plan be ever so little departed from, they make it a crime in the consul, and cite him to their tribunal. These are great obstacles to them that have the management of affairs. For all generals have not the steadiness and constancy of Fabius, who chose rather to see his authority insulted by the capricious multitude, than to run the hazard of losing a battle, by endeavoring to gain their applause. I am far from believing that generals have no occasion for advice: on the contrary, I think, that whoever takes upon him to direct every thing according to his own mind, shews more presumption than wisdom. What then may be reasonably required? In the first place generals are to be advised by men of prudence, and such as are well skilled in the art of war, and who have learned by experience, what it is to command: and, secondly, by those who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are capable of judging of different conjunctures, and who, being in a manner embarked on board the same vessel, share the same dangers with them. If therefore any one conceives himself capable of assisting me with his advice in the war with which you have charged me, let him not refuse his services to the commonwealth, but let him accompany me to Macedonia; he shall have a ship, horses, tents, and provisions, all at my expence. But if he will not take that trouble, but prefers a quiet city life to

CHAP. XXII. the fatigues of a campaign, let him not take upon him to steer the vessel, while he remains idle in port. The city itself affords matter enough for talking; therefore let them set bounds to their prating, and be assured that we shall content ourselves with such advice, as shall be given in the camp itself.' After this speech, and celebrating the *feriæ latinæ* on the last day of March, the consul and Cn. Octavius immediately set out for Macedonia. The consul is said to have been attended by a greater multitude of citizens than usual on such occasions. And that the people expressed an assured confidence, that the Macedonian war would be terminated, and the consul soon return victorious and triumphant.

CHAP. XXIII. WHILEST these affairs were carrying on in Italy, Perſes, who could not prevail upon himself to finish what had been already begun, to wit, an alliance with Gentius king of the Illyrians, because it was expensive; after he saw the Romans had passed the defiles, and that matters were come to the last push, did not think proper to defer it any longer, but as he had agreed by his ambassador Hippias to pay 300 talents of silver, on condition that hostages should be delivered on both sides, sent Pantaucus, one of his most trusty confidents, to see the peace ratify'd. Pantaucus met the Illyrian king at Medeo, in the country of Labeatis: there he received the king's oath, and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympius, to require an oath and hostages from Perſes. There went along with him Parmenio and Morcus, to receive the money. They by the advice of Pantaucus were designed to go as ambassadors to Rhodes in company with some Macedonians; but were ordered first to receive the oath, hostages and money, and then to set out for Rhodes, that through the joint influence of the two kings, the Rhodians might be induced to take part in the war. And if they were joined by that state, which then was sovereign at sea, the Romans would have

have no hopes left either by sea or land. At the ap- CHAP.
 proach of the Illyrians, Perſes ſet out from his camp XXIII.
 by the river Enipeus, with his whole cavalry, and
 met them at Dium. There they ratify'd the articles
 that had been agreed on, ſurrounded with a body of
 horſe whom Perſes would have to be preſent at the
 ratification of the treaty of alliance he had made with
 Gentius, believing that proceeding would augment
 their courage. The hoſtages were exchanged in ſight
 of them all ; and thoſe that were to receive the mo-
 ney being ſent to Pella to the king's treaſury, the
 embaſſadors that were to accompany the Illyrians to
 Rhodes, received orders to embark at Theſſalonica.
 Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, af-
 firmed, upon the credit of Dino and Polyartus, the
 chiefs of that ſtate, that the Rhodians were prepared
 for war. He was appointed head of the embaſſy,
 in conjunction with the Illyrians.

AT the ſame time he ſent embaſſadors to Eume- CHAP.
 nes and Antiochus, with the ſame inſtructions to both, XXIV.
 being ſuch as the preſent ſituation of affairs could ſug-
 geſt ; ' That there was a natural enmity between
 ' kings and free ſtates. That the Roman people at-
 ' tacked the kings one after another, and, to make
 ' the indignity the greater, employed the forces of one
 ' to ruin another. That his father had been cruſhed
 ' by the aſſiſtance of Attalus. That by the aid of
 ' Eumenes, and partly alſo by that of his father Phi-
 ' lip, Antiochus had been ſubdued ; and that now
 ' they had armed Eumenes and Pruſias againſt him-
 ' ſelf. That when the kingdom of Macedonia ſhould
 ' be deſtroyed, it would be Aſia's turn next ; of which
 ' they had already poſſeſſed themſelves of a part, un-
 ' der the ſpecious pretext of reſtoring the cities in
 ' their ancient liberty ; and that Syria would ſoon af-
 ' ter meet the ſame fate. That they already began
 ' to ſet Pruſias above Eumenes by peculiar diſtincti-
 ' ons of honor ; and that they had rob'd Antiochus
 ' of the fruit of his victories in Egypt. He exhort-
 ' ed them to think on theſe things, and conſider with
 ' them-

CHAP.
XXIV.

‘ themselves whether they would compel the Romans to leave Macedonia in peace ; or if they persevered in the unjust design of making war upon him, to look on them as the common enemies of all kings.’ The embassadors acted openly with Antiochus : as to Eumenes, they covered their voyage under the pretext of ransoming prisoners ; but they had affairs of a more private nature in agitation, which for the present rendered Eumenes suspected and hateful to the Romans. For they considered him as no better than a traitor and enemy, whilst the two kings were striving to entrap each other through avarice and fraud. Eumenes had an intimate confident, one Cydas, a Cretan. This man had first conferred at Amphipolis with one Chimarus, his countryman, in the service of Perseus ; afterwards, at Demetrias, with Menecrates and another time with Antimachus, two of the king’s captains, under the very walls of the city. Eropon also, who was then sent, had been twice embassador to the same Eumenes before. These secret conferences and embassies were indeed suspected ; but the subject of them, or what was agreed on between the kings, was never known. Now the affair stood thus.

CHAP.
XXV.

EUMENES did not desire that Perseus should be victorious, neither had he a mind to make war upon him ; not so much on account of the hereditary enmity between the two courts, as of that occasioned by personal injuries and hatred. For such was the emulation betwixt these two kings, that Eumenes could not patiently have endured to see Perseus in possession of so much glory and power, as he would have acquired by the conquest of the Romans. He perceived likewise, that Perseus, even from the commencement of the war, had tried all means of obtaining peace, and daily the more, as the terror approached nearer, neither acting nor thinking of any other thing. He believed also, that the Roman generals and senate would not be averse from putting an end to a troublesome and incommodious war, that
had

had already been spun out to a much greater length than they at first expected. Having discovered the inclinations of both parties, he therefore determined to use his endeavors for bringing about a reconciliation betwixt them, which he believed might happen of it's own accord by the stronger party being weary'd, and the weaker under great dread. For he sometimes intended not to give the Romans any assistance in the war either by sea or land; at other times to negotiate a peace between the Romans and Macedonians, and to sell his mediation for 1500 talents. In both agreements he shewed that he was ready not only to pass his word, but also to give hostages. Perfes was as ready as could be, to enter into the negotiation, being compelled by fear, and treated without delay about giving hostages: It was agreed that, upon exchanging them, they should be sent to Crete. But when they came to mention the money, he hesitated, affirming, 'that amongst such respectful kings a bribe was shameful and mean, and more dishonorable to the receiver than the giver.' He was willing to be at the expence in hopes of a peace with the Romans, but would not pay the money till the service was done, and in the mean time offered to deposite it in the temple of Samothrace. That island being dependent on him, Eumenes did not think the sum any better secured than if it had been at Pella; and insisted that part of the money should be immediately paid down. Thus having in vain endeavored to entrap each other, neither got any thing but dishonor.

NOR did Perfes fail in this affair only, through his avarice, when at so small an expence he might have had, by means of Eumenes, a peace which he ought to have purchased even with half his kingdom; and if he had been cheated, might have discovered his enemy while loaden with his money, and deservedly made the Romans his enemies; but he also lost the assistance which king Gentius was ready to give him; and a large body of Gaulish troops that had

had marched into Illyricum, consisting of 10000 horse and a like number of foot, who kept pace with the horses in running, and made use of the horses of those who happened to be killed. These were to have for each trooper ten pieces of gold, for each foot soldier five, and for each general a thousand. Upon their arrival Perſes went out to meet them from his camp by the river Enipeus with half his troops, and gave orders that the towns and villages through which they were to paſs ſhould have provisions prepared for them in abundance, as corn, wine and cattle. He brought ſome preſents for the principal officers, as horſes, furniture, arms and lances, and ſome money which was to be divided amongſt a few, believing the multitude might be attracted with hopes. He arrived at the town of Almana^a, and encamped on the bank of the river Axius^b. The Gauliſh army having ſtopt at Deſudabia^c in Medica, to wait for the pay they had agreed for, he deputed to them Antigonus, one of his principal courtiers, to invite the Gauliſh multitude to advance forward to Bylazora, a place in Pæonia, and to ſend a good number of their principal men to him. They were ſeventy five miles diſtant from the river Axius and the king's camp. Antigonus having delivered this meſſage, and enlarged upon the orders the king had given for their good reception in all the places through which they ſhould paſs, and the preſents their chief men were to receive from him of veſts, ſilver and horſes; they answered, ' That as to thoſe things they would know them when they came there, and aſked him whether he had brought the gold to be diſtributed amongſt the horſe and foot ſoldiers, which, according to their agreement, was to be paid down.' As no poſitive answer was returned, Clondicus, their prince, ſaid, ' Go then, and tell the king, that till he ſends the hoſtages and money agreed on, the Gauls ſhall not ſtir from hence.' This being reported to the king, he aſſembled his council, and foreſeeing what their

^a In *Mygdonia*, ^b Now *Bardarius*, riſes in mount *Scardus*, and falls into the *Thermaic* gulph. ^c Near *Nicopolis*.


opinion would be, as a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, he expatiated much upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls, adding, that he had experienced by many former losses, that it would be dangerous to suffer so great a multitude to enter Macedonia, lest they should prove more troublesome allies to them, than the Romans did enemies. That 5000 of their horse would be sufficient, whom they might employ in the war, and not fear any harm to themselves from their numbers.

EVERY body saw that he only feared the paying of such a multitude, and nothing else; but no body venturing to give him advice to the contrary, Antigonus was sent back to tell them, that the king had occasion only for 5000 horse; and refused the rest of the multitude. Upon hearing this, these barbarians raised a general murmur and indignation, for having come so far from home to no purpose. Clondicus again asked him, if he would pay these 5000 what had been agreed upon? And perceiving he returned evasive answers to this also, they dismissed the deceitful messenger without any bad treatment, which he himself had very much apprehended, and resumed their rout to the Danube, ravaging Thrace, which was on their way. If whilst the king continued quiet on the banks of the Enipeus, this body had been brought into Thessaly against the Romans over the defiles of Perrhœbia, they might not only have cut off all provisions from the Romans, by ravaging the country, but even sacked the cities, while Perſes hindered the consul from moving from the Enipeus to succor his allies. Yea the Romans themselves would have been in great danger; since after losing Thessaly from whence they had their provisions and forage, they could neither have staid, nor marched away, because the Macedonian camp blocked them up on the other side. By this means Perſes encouraged the enemy, and disheartened his own troops, who had their sole dependence on this. By a like instance of avarice he alienated king Gentius from him. For after he had told

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XXVII.

CHAP. XXVII. told out the 300 talents at Pella to the Illyrian envoys, and suffered them to seal it, he sent only ten to Pantaucus, as earnest to the king, with orders to those who carried the rest of the money, to make very slow and short journies, and wait on the frontiers of Macedonia for fresh instructions from him. Gentius having received this small moiety of the money, and being continually teaz'd by Pantaucus, to declare against the Romans, he threw into prison Perperna and Petillius, two envoys who had come to him from Rome. When Persees received this advice, believing him sufficiently embroiled with the Romans, he sent orders to bring back the money, as if his sole view had been to amass wealth for the Romans, against his being vanquished. Eropon also returned from Eumenes, but none knew what had passed between them. For they pretended to have negotiated an exchange of prisoners, of which Eumenes, to avoid suspicion, informed the consul.

CHAP. XXVIII. PERSEES, disappointed of his hopes, after the return of Eropon from Eumenes, sent Antenor and Callippus, the admirals of his fleet, to Tenedos with forty frigates, to which he added five great gallies, to cruise among the Cyclades, and convoy the store-ships to Macedonia. This squadron sailing from Cassandrea, first reached the ports that lye under mount Athos, and from thence passing over to Tenedos with a fair gale, they not only dismissed without injury the Rhodian open vessels they found in the haven with Eudamus their admiral, but even gave them marks of kindness. Afterwards being informed that fifty of their own store-ships were blocked up on the other side by Eumenes's ships of war, riding in the mouth of the harbor under Damius their admiral, they tacked, and relieving them from all fear of the enemy, sent them to Macedonia under convoy of ten frigates, which were ordered to see them out of danger, and then return to Tenedos. Nine days after they returned to the fleet, which was then riding

ing at Sigeum. From thence they stood over to CHAP.
Subota, an island lying between Elea and Athos. It xxviii.
happened the next day, when the fleet reached it, 
that 35 transports coming from Elea with Gaulish
horsemen and their horses, were steering towards
Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, in order to go to
Macedonia, and which were sent from Eumenes to
Attalus. A signal being made to Antenor from a
watch tower, that these ships were upon the sea, he
sailed from Subota, and fell in with them betwixt the
promontory of Erythræ and Chios, where the streight
is narrowest. Eumenes's admirals thought of nothing
less than of a Macedonian fleet cruising in those seas;
sometimes they took them for Romans, and some-
times for Attalus, or some sent by him from the Ro-
man camp, and going to Pergamus. But when the
frigates came so near, that their form could be di-
stinctly descry'd, and by the motion of their oars,
and their prows pointing towards them, they perceiv-
ed the enemy approaching; they were struck with a
panic, seeing no hopes of resisting, both by their
ships being unfit for fighting, and the Gauls hardly
able to endure the fatigues of the sea. Part of them
that were nearest the shore of the continent swam to
Erythrea, others setting sail run the ships ashore at
Chios, and leaving their horses fled towards the town
with precipitation. But the king's frigates having
landed their soldiers at a more convenient place near
the town, the Macedonians came up with the Gauls
in their flight, slew them partly on the road, and
partly before the gates; for the Chians had shut their
gates against them, not knowing who they were that
fled, nor who pursued. Near 800 Gauls were slain,
and 200 taken prisoners; part of the horses perished
in the sea, by the bulging of the storeships, and part
were hamstring'd by the Macedonians on shore. Ante-
nor ordered the same ten frigates which he had sent be-
fore, to carry twenty very fine horses to Thessalonica,
with the captives; and return to the fleet as soon as
possible; for he would wait for them at Phanæ. The
fleet

fleet rode almost three days before the town. Then they proceeded to Phanæ, and the ten frigates returning sooner than expected, they launched out into the Ægean sea, and sailed to Delos.

CHAP.
XXIX.

DURING these transactions, the Roman ambassadors, C. Popillius, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, and coming to Delos, found there forty Macedonian frigates, and five large gallies, belonging to king Eumenes. The sanctity of the temple and island protected them all. Therefore the Romans and Macedonians, and Eumenes's sailors, mixed and conversed together in the temple, for the veneration of the place afforded them a truce. Antenor, Perfes's admiral, whenever he had notice from the watch-towers of any merchant ships passing that way, gave them chase with part of the frigates, and, stationing others amongst the Cyclades, either stopt or plundered all, except such as were bound for Macedonia. Popillius and the ships of Eumenes succored as many as they could; but the Macedonians sailing by night with two, or oftentimes three, deceived them. Much about the same time ambassadors came to Rhodes from Macedonia and Illyricum. They were the more respected, not only on account of the frigates that were cruising among the Cyclades, and in the Ægean sea, but also of the alliance between Perfes and Gentius, and the report of the Gauls coming with a great number of foot and horse. And now Dino and Polyartus, who were of Perfes's party, taking courage, not only gave a favorable answer to the kings, but declared openly, ' that they would
' put an end to the war by their mediation; there-
' fore the kings must shew themselves disposed for
' peace.'

CHAP.
XXX.

IT was now the beginning of spring, and the new generals were come to their provinces. The consul Æmilius into Macedonia, Octavius to the fleet at Oreos, and Anicius, who had the management of the war against Gentius, into Illyricum. This Gentius

was

was the son of Pleuratus king of the Illyrians by Eurydica his queen, and had two brothers, Plator of the same parents, and Caravantius by the mother's side only. This brother being the less suspected by him because of the meanness of his father's birth, he slew Plator, and his two favorites Etritus and Epicadus, men of courage, that his reign might be more secure. The report was, that he envied his brother who had been promised Etuta the daughter of Honunus prince of the Dardans to wife, as if by this marriage he had intended to engage the Dardan nation to his interests. And what made this seem more probable was his marrying this princess after the death of Plator. He then began to be severe upon his subjects, having nothing to fear from his brother; and the natural violence of his temper was inflamed by immoderate drinking. But, as has been said before, being instigated to a war with the Romans, he assembled all his forces at Lissos, to the number of 15000 men. From thence having detached his brother with 1000 foot and 50 horse to subdue the Cavian nation ^a, through force or terror, he himself marched to Bassania ^b, five miles from Lissos. These were in alliance with the Romans. He sent messengers before to sound their inclinations, but they chose to sustain a siege rather than surrender. Caravantius, upon his coming amongst the Cavians, was kindly received by the inhabitants of Durnium ^c; the other town, Caravantis ^d, shut their gates against him, and whilst he ravaged their lands on all sides, some of his stragglers were killed by the peasants who assembled together. By this time Ap. Claudius, having joined to the army he had, the auxiliary troops of the Bulini ^e, Apolloniates, and Dyrhachians, quitted his winter quarters and encamped by the river Genusus ^f. There hearing of the league between Perfes and Gentius, and

^a A canton of *Dalmatia*.

^b Near the mouth of the *Drilo*.

^c Or rather *Burnium*, now *Grac*
ibova in *Dalmatia*.

^d Unknown.

^e On the *Ionian gulph* on the west
of *Macedonia*.

^f Now the *Vaiussa*, waters the
west of *Macedonia*, and falls into the
Adriatic sea.

CHAP.

xxx.

provoked at the affront offered to the ambassadors, he firmly resolved to make war upon the latter. Anicius the prætor, who was then at Apollonia, hearing what was doing in Illyricum, and writing beforehand to Appius, to wait for him at Genufuus, came himself to the camp in three days, and joining to the auxiliaries he had, 2000 foot of the Parthine youth and 200 horse, the former commanded by Epicadus and the latter by Agalfus, prepared to march into Illyricum, to raise the siege of Bassana. But he was stopt in his career, by hearing of the frigates that ravaged the sea coasts. For Gentius, by the advice of Pantaucus, had sent 80 to ravage the lands of the Dyrrachians and Apolloniates.

CHAP.

xxxI.

[T H E N the prætor sail'd against Pantaucus to defend the allies from injuries. His fleet was well equipt and furnished with all necessaries, and besides the old seamen he had on board 500 which we before observed were raised for the Illyrian war. But the enemy scarce gave him an opportunity of coming to a decisive action. For what could ships only accustomed to piracies, dare or be able to do against a fleet so well appointed? In consequence the very sight of it terrify'd them, and made them by the agility of their ships endeavor to secure themselves by a precipitate flight. Some of the sternmost and slowest of them were sunk at the first attack and several taken, yielding the Romans an easy victory. However, they were not content with this, but pursued the fugitives, and Anicius coming up with many of them lying close under the islands near the continent, allured them to surrender, with promises of quarter. Presently all the islands subject to Gentius, at the first sight] surrendered themselves. Then the towns of that country did the same, the inclination of their minds being furthered by the clemency and justice of the Roman prætor towards all. From thence they came to Scodra, the chief seat of the war, not only because Gentius had made it the capital of his kingdom, but also because it is by far the best fortified and most inaccessible place in the Labetian nation. It is surrounded by two rivers, Clausala washing it on that side which looks towards the east, and on the west Barbana, which rises out of the lake Labeas. These two streams meeting together fall into the river Oriun; which rising in mount Scodrus, and receiving

ing into it many waters, falls into the Adriatic sea. Mount Scodrus, by far the highest in that country, has Dardania lying under it towards the east, Macedonia to the south, and Illyricum to the west. Though the town was fortified by its natural situation, and defended by the whole nation of the Illyrians with the king in person; yet the Roman prætor, since his first enterprizes had been successful, believing the whole affair would end as successfully as it had begun, and that a sudden terror would have influence, approached the walls with his army in good order. Now if they had shut their gates, and defended their walls and the turrets of the gates by placing guards upon them, they might have repulsed the Romans and rendered their design abortive. But they marched out at the gate and joined battle upon even ground, with greater courage than they sustained it. For being beaten, and crowding together in their flight, above 200 were killed in the very entrance of the gate, which struck them with such a terror, that Gentius immediately sent Teuticus and Bellus, chiefs of the nation, to the prætor, demanding a truce, that he might deliberate about the state of his affairs. Three days time was allowed him for this purpose, and the Roman camp being about the distance of half a mile from the town, he went on board a ship and sailed up the river Barbana into the lake Labeas, as if he had been seeking a retired place to consult in; but as it appeared, he was moved with the vain hopes of his brother Caravantius approaching with many thousands of soldiers brought from that country into which he was sent. This rumor proving groundless, the third day after he fell down the river to Scodra in the same ship; and sending messengers before him, to desire an interview with the prætor, it was granted and he came to the camp. He began his speech with accusing himself for his mad folly; at last he poured out supplications and tears, and falling at the prætor's feet submitted at discretion. The prætor at first desired him to take courage, and invited him to supper.

Then he returned into the city to his men, and that day feasted honorably with the prætor ; afterwards he was committed to the custody of C. Cassius a legionary tribune. He had scarce received ten talents, the common hire of a gladiator, to reduce himself to these circumstances.

CHAP.
XXXII

ANICIUS, having got possession of Scodra, first of all called for Petilius and Perperna the ambassadors, and commanded them to be brought to him. Having restored them to their dignity, he immediately sent Perperna to seize the king's courtiers and relations. Perperna marching to Medion^a a town belonging to the nation of the Labeates, brought Etleva, Gentius's wife, with his two sons, Scherdiletus and Pleuratus, and Caravantius, his brother, to the camp at Scodra. Anicius having put an end to the Illyrian war in thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of the victory, and a few days after king Gentius himself, with his mother, wife, children and brother, and other chiefs of the Illyrians. Thus one war was finished before it was heard at Rome that it was begun. During these transactions Perfes was likewise in great fear, on account of the arrival of Æmilius the new consul, who, he heard, was approaching with great menaces, and even of Octavius the prætor. Nor was he less frightened at the Roman fleet and the danger of the sea coast. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica with a small garison of 2000 cetrati. Thither also he sent Androcles, his lieutenant, with orders to encamp under the very arsenal. He sent 1000 horse to Ænia, under command of Antigonus, for the defence of the sea coast, that at whatever shore they should hear of the enemy's landing, they might immediately give assistance to the country people. 5000 Macedonians were sent to guard Pythium and Petra, under the command of Histiaæus, Theogenes and Milo. After these were marched, he began to fortify his bank of the river Enipeus, it being dried up and fordable.

^a In the country of the *Labeates*, and near the lake *Scalari*.

And that all hands might be employ'd in this, the women of the neighboring towns were compelled to bring victuals to the camp, and the soldiers ordered, from the adjacent woods [to fetch stakes to make a rampart, which was raised quite round the camp with incredible labor and expedition. He also added redoubts, and placed military engines, to prevent the enemy from forcing his lines without the greatest danger and fatigue. By this means he thought himself secure against the whole Roman force, and himself able to hold them at bay, till, deterred and weakened by the difficulties of so long a siege, they should at length quit the enterprize.

BUT by how much the consul saw the Macedonians superior in strength, and taking all precautions to secure themselves, so much the more vigorously did he exert himself, and left no means untried to elude their arts by his own skill, and remove every obstacle to the gaining of his point. His camp was plentifully supply'd with provisions out of Thessaly, which lay at his back. However he was in great want of water; for by an unusual drought, the nearest river was dried up, and the few springs near, besides their being muddy, were no wise sufficient to supply so great a multitude. By this means great numbers of men and cattle died for want of drink. In consequence the consul sent to search all about mount Olympus, under which he was encamped, if they could discover any springs: but they brought back word that all was dry. However he did not despair; but having attentively considered the nature of the place,] he at last ordered the water bearers to follow him to the sea, which was within 300 paces, and to dig, some at one place and some at another, on the shore, at moderate intervals. The exceeding high mountains gave him hopes, and the more because they sent forth no open streams, that they contained secret springs, the veins of which ran into and mixed with the waters of the sea. The surface of the sand was scarce removed, when the springs began to issue out, at first muddy and small, but afterwards clear and in abundance, as it were by the gift of the Gods. This affair likewise added greatly to the reputation and authority of the general among the soldiers. Then ordering the soldiers to get ready their arms, himself with the tribunes and centurions of the first rank, went to reconnoitre the passes; in what place the descent was easy for armed men, and

CHAP.
XXXIII.

where the ascent was least difficult on the further bank. These things being sufficiently examined, he likewise took care, in the first place, that all things should be done upon the march in an orderly manner and without disturbance, at the nod of the general. In order to this he declared, that since when the word of command was given in general, it could not be heard by all, and in this uncertainty some, adding to it of themselves, did more than they were commanded, while others did less, which occasioned dissonant clamors in all places, insomuch that the enemies came sooner to the knowledge of their designs than they did themselves; it was his pleasure therefore, that a legionary tribune should give the word of command in private to the oldest centurion of the legion; and that he, and so the rest in order, should communicate it to the centurion next to them in rank, whether the orders came from front to rear, or from rear to front. He also introduced a new custom with regard to the sentinels, forbidding them to carry their bucklers with them to their posts; for they did not go out to battle so as to need arms, but to watch, that when they perceived the approach of the enemy, they might retreat and give the alarm to the rest. For they often stood with their helmets on, and their bucklers placed upright before them, and when they were wearied, fell fast asleep, leaning on their javelins, with their heads laid on the tops of their shields; and the enemy descry'd them at a great distance by the brightness of their shields, while they themselves saw nothing. He also altered the method of the advanced guards. The men stood the whole day under arms with their horses bridled; when this happened in the summer season, under continual scorching of the sun, a few fresh enemies oftentimes attacked and gave great disturbance to a greater number of them, whilst both themselves and horses were fatigued and ready to faint with standing in the heat for so many hours. Therefore he ordered the morning guard to go off at noon, and others to relieve them for the afternoon;

by this means the enemy could never come fresh upon them when they were wearied.

HAVING assembled his troops and declared CHAP. that it was his pleasure, to have these things so order- XXXIV. ed, he added a speech as steady as that he had made at Rome. ‘ That the general alone ought to take care and consult what was to be done in the army ; sometimes by himself, and sometimes with his council assembled for their advice ; but such as were not consulted, ought neither in public or private to propose their opinions. The soldier ought to mind three things in particular ; to have his body as robust and active as possible, his arms in good order, and victuals ready for sudden expeditions ; knowing that all other concerns were to be left to the immortal Gods and the vigilance of their general. In an army where the soldiers, consul and general were actuated by vulgar reports, no salutary step could be taken. That he, agreeable to the duty of a general, would take care to give them an opportunity to shew their courage ; but they were not to enquire what was to follow, only when the signal was given, then to act the part of good soldiers.’ With these instructions he dismissed the assembly. The veterans openly confessed, that till that day they had been but novices in the duty of a soldier. They not only shewed by these discourses, with what pleasure they had heard the consul’s speech, but the effect of it quickly appeared in their actions. For immediately no body in the whole camp was to be seen idle : some sharpened their swords ; some furbished their helmets and cuirasses, others their bucklers and coats of mail ; some put on their arms, and tried how nimbly they could move with them ; others brandished their lances, or floured their swords and examined their points ; so that one might easily perceive, that the first opportunity they had of coming to blows with the enemy, they would begin the war either with a remarkable victory or memorable death. Perses likewise perceiving that, upon the arrival of the consul and

CHAP. the spring's coming on, there was a great bustling
 XXXIV. and motion amongst the enemies, as in a new war,
 removed from Phila, and encamped on the opposite
 bank, whilst the Roman went about to view his
 works, and look for a secure place at which to pass;
 [and having reinstated the ancient strict discipline in his army,
 employ'd them in daily exercises and all kinds of military toils,
 omitting no care or duty that belonged to an able general:
 Perfes, I say, perceiving the consul thus employ'd, considered
 that he must act with vigor in such apparent danger; for he
 had not now to deal with a Licinius, Hostilius or Marcius, but
 with an old experienced, prudent and vigilant general, who at-
 tentively watched every advantage; was actuated solely by a
 desire of glory and victory, and who by various mock represen-
 tations of battles in his army, was preparing his troops for a
 real and decisive action. In consequence the Macedonian also
 resolved to animate his men as much as possible, to instruct them
 in exercises, inure them to hardships, to add new works to the
 old, and fortify'd his ramparts with machines and engines one
 above another. But while they were thus busy'd on both sides,
 advice arrived, that Gentius had been routed by the prætor A-
 nicius, he and all his family taken prisoners, and his whole do-
 minions subjected to the Romans.]

CHAP. THIS affair encreased the courage of the Ro-
 XXXV. mans, and caused no small terror to the Mace-
 donians and their king. At first he endeavored
 to suppress the report, and sent to forbid Pantau-
 cus, who was coming from thence, to come near
 the camp: but by this time some of the Macedo-
 nian boys, who had been sent as hostages to Illyri-
 cum, had arrived in the camp; and the more care
 is taken to conceal secrets at court, the more the cour-
 tiers blab them. About the same time the Rhodian em-
 bassadors came to the camp with the same instructions
 concerning a peace, which had given so much disgust
 to the fathers at Rome. They were heard with much
 less patience by the council of war. Accordingly
 while some advised to drive them headlong out of the
 camp immediately without any answer, the consul
 declared he would give them an answer after fifteen
 days. In the mean time, that it might appear how
 little he regarded the authority of the Rhodians, when
 they pretended to prescribe terms of peace to the Ro-
 mans,

mans, he began to consult about the operations of the campaign. Some, especially those that were advanced in years, thought it best to attack the king in his trenches on the Enipeus, urging, that the Macedonians could not sustain the assaults of so close a body of men all together, they having been driven from so many castles the year before, that were somewhat higher and better fortified, and defended by stronger garisons. Others were of opinion, that Octavius should go to Thessalonica with the fleet, and by ravaging the sea coast divert the king's forces; so as that another war breaking out behind him, he might be drawn off to defend the inner part of his kingdom, and compelled to leave the passage of the Enipeus open. But to the consul the bank seemed insuperable, not only by nature, but by reason of the works; and besides that warlike engines were planted all along it, he was informed, that the enemies could use their missile weapons better and with a surer aim than usual. This general had formed a quite different resolution; so dismissing the council, he sent for the Pyrrhæbian merchants, Schænus and Menophilus, men of approved fidelity and prudence, and asked them concerning the nature of the passes of Perrhæbia. Upon their informing him, that they were not difficult, but guarded by the king's troops, he conceived hopes, that if he attacked these guards unawares by night, with a strong detachment, he might be able to dislodge them. For javelins, arrows and other missile weapons were useless in the dark, where one could not see at a distance what to aim at. That it was best fighting hand to hand with swords in a throng, at which the Roman soldiers would have the advantage. Being resolved to make use of these guides he sent for Octavius the prætor, and informing him of his intentions, ordered him to sail to Heracleum with the fleet, and have ten days provisions for 1000 men ready dressed. He sent P. Scipio Nasica, and Q. Fabius Maximus his son, with 5000 choice men to Heracleum, as if they were

were intended to go on board the fleet, to ravage the inner coasts of Macedonia, which had been debated in the council. They were told in private, 'that victuals were prepared for them at the fleet, that they might meet with no delay.' Then their guides were ordered to settle their routs in such manner, that on the third day, at the fourth watch, they might attack Pythium. Next day, as soon as it was light, the consul, to hinder the king from penetrating his other designs, attacked his advanced guards about the middle of the river. The light troops on both sides were engaged in this attack, because heavy armor could not be used upon such uneven ground. The descent of the bank on both sides into the channel was about 300 paces; the channel itself, deeper in some places than others, was somewhat above a mile in breadth. In the middle of this was the battle, whilst on one side the king, on the other the consul, with their infantry, were spectators of the skirmish. The king's auxiliaries fought better when at a distance with their missile weapons, but the Romans had the advantage and were better secured at close fighting, both by reason of their round bucklers and Ligurian targets. About noon the consul ordered his men to sound a retreat; so the battle ended for that day, and many were killed on both sides. Next day at sun rising they renewed the action even with more fierceness, their minds being irritated with the former skirmish: but the Romans were wounded not only by those with whom they were engaged, but much more by that multitude which was posted on the redoubts with all kinds of missile weapons and chiefly stones: for when they advanced near the bank on the enemy's side, even their rear was within reach of their ordinance. After having lost a greater number of men that day, the consul ordered his men to retreat somewhat later than before. The third day he abstained from fighting, having gone down to the lowest part of the field, as if he intended to attempt a passage through that branch of

of

of the river, that shelved towards the sea. Perſes, CHAP. minding only what he had before his eyes, [was xxxv. solely intent on repulſing the enemy, and void of all other care. In the mean time Naſica, with his detachment, was come as far as Heracleum on the ſea-coaſt, as if he intended to attack the enemy's camp with a fleet. But here ordering his men to reſreſh themſelves, he waited the approach of night. Then he communicated the conſul's real orders to the centurions, and about duſk turning off towards the mountain, ſilently took the rout to Pythium, agreeable to his inſtructions. There he arrived after three days march through rugged ways, and found it neceſſary to reſreſh his fatigued troops with a night's reſt. In this expedition he had 200 Cretans. One of theſe, as they are naturally a treacherous people, coming to the knowledge of the deſign, deſerted to Perſes, and diſcovered to him, who dreamt of nothing leſs, whither the detachment was marching. Perſes was confounded at this unexpected advice. He could not quit his camp, to follow Naſica with all his forces, for fear of leaving his frontiers defenceleſs, for the conſul to penetrate into the bowels of his kingdom. He therefore diſpatched Milo, one of his principal favorites, with 2000 Macedonians, and 10000 auxiliaries, with all poſſible expedition to ſeize the paſſes, and hinder the Roman from penetrating that way. Polybius ſays, the Roman ſurprized them aſleep; but Naſica ſays, that they fought a bloody and doubtful battle on the brow of the hill; and that among other accidents a Thracian ſoldier made a thruſt at him with his ſword, which he put by, and run the fellow through with his javelin. At laſt after a long diſpute, the Macedonians gave ground, and Milo himſelf, throwing away his arms, fled with precipitation. That the Romans, by purſuing the fugitives, got an eaſy and ſafe deſcent into the plains. Perſes was greatly embarrassed hereby. For as his camp was unfortify'd on that ſide, he could not ſtay in it with ſafety. He ſeemed only to have two ways left; either to retreat to Pydna, and wait for the enemy under the walls of that well fortified city, where he could riſque a battle with leſs hazard; or to diſperſe his armies into garriſons, for the defence of his principal cities, and to keep his ſubjects in awe; and by carrying into his fortify'd towns all the corn and cattle, lay the whole country waſte before the enemy, who, for want of proviſions, and the continual incuſſions of the Macedonians, would not long be able to ſubſiſt. Neither of theſe he could execute without danger. But the laſt, beſides it's being a work of time, by dividing the forces, would reduce, as it were, the whole ſtrength of the kingdom to nothing; alſo, by leaving the frontiers naked, and a way to the heart of Macedonia, it would fill all places with alarm, ravages, fire and ſword, and alienate the peaſants, deſtitute of all help, from their allegiance and duty to the king. In conſequence, moſt of his courtiers adviſed him

CHAP.

xxxv.

him to the first, to keep his army together, ready for action. For it would both be more glorious and safe to oppose the enemy with his forces entire, before they made a farther progress, and to risque a battle if a fair opportunity should offer. His troops certainly, when they were to fight for all that was dear to them, sacred and civil, their wives and children, in the sight of their prince, and, which was the strongest incitement to behave well, were themselves involved in the danger, would remember the ancient renown of their nation. The king, though loth to risque his all in one action, yet induced by these arguments, prepared for it, and marching to Pydna, assigned each person his post, that, in case of necessity, they might all be ready to fight. It was a champaign country, fit for horse to act in, and not only capable of containing heavy armed foot; but, as it abounded with little eminences, was convenient for archers and other light troops to make their excursions, and retreat again with safety. Two rivers, the Æso and Leucus, rather divided, than watered the fields, their channels were so narrow and they had so little water in them at that time. However they seemed of some advantage, as the passing them would stop the Romans career a little. In the mean time the consul, finding Nasica had open'd a way into the enemy's country, joined his detachment with the rest of the army. After this he made no delay, but marched directly towards the enemy in a square battalion. However, when he saw them so advantageously posted, and prepared to give him a warm reception, he halted a little, to consider with himself every thing that could promise, or deny and obstruct a victory; and when he had seriously weighed the whole, to take his measures accordingly.

CHAP.

xxxvi.

THE solstice was now past, and it was about noon, so that their march was attended with much dust and heat of the sun. They were weary and thirsty, and noon approaching, they were more so. He therefore resolved not to expose them to a fresh and vigorous enemy in this condition. But the troops on both sides expressed so great an ardor for fighting, that the consul had need of as much art to deceive his own men as the enemy's. As they were not all yet drawn up, he urged the legionary tribunes to make haste to put them in order; he himself went about from rank to rank, and by his exhortations animated them to fight. At first they chearfully demanded the signal for engaging; afterwards, as the heat increased, their countenances did not express so great vigor, their voices were fainter, and some of them stood resting

on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. Then CHAP.
 he publicly ordered the first ranks to pitch their tents XXXVI.
 and set down the baggage; which when the soldiers
 perceived, some openly rejoiced that he had not com-
 pelled them to fight whilst they were fatigued with their
 march, and in such scorching heat. The foreign
 generals and captains stood about the consul, and a-
 mongst the rest Attalus. All had signified their ap-
 probation, when they believed the consul would fight;
 for he had not communicated his design of delay even
 to them. But while, upon the sudden change of his
 intention, others were silent, Nafica was the only per-
 son that took upon him to remonstrate to the consul,
 begging ' he would not suffer the enemy, who had so
 ' often eluded former generals, to slip out of his
 ' hands, by avoiding an engagement. For he fear-
 ' ed they would go off by night, and they should be
 ' obliged to follow them with the utmost fatigue and
 ' danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the ar-
 ' my, like former ones, would be carried about strag-
 ' ling through the by-ways and forests of the Mace-
 ' donian mountains. He earnestly advised him to
 ' attack the enemy whilst he had him in the open
 ' plain, and not lose the opportunity of conquering
 ' which had fallen in his way.' The consul, without
 being in the least offended at the free admonition of
 so illustrious a youth, answered, ' At your age, Na-
 ' fica, I was of the same opinion with you; and you
 ' at mine will be of the same with me. I have learn-
 ' ed by many chances of war, when to engage, and
 ' when to abstain from fighting. It is not worth
 ' while, as we now stand under arms, to inform you
 ' of the reasons for which I thought it best to avoid
 ' an action to day; ask the reasons at another time,
 ' and at present be satisfied with the authority of an
 ' old general.' This struck the young man dumb,
 not doubting but the consul saw some impediments,
 which did not appear to him.

PAULLUS, perceiving the tents pitched and CHAP.
 the baggage settled, first drew off the triarii from the XXXVII.
 rear,

rear, and then the principes, leaving the hastati stand-
 ing in the front, in case the enemy should move; and
 at last even them, beginning at the right wing, and
 by degrees drawing off by companies at a time.
 Thus the infantry were drawn off without any disor-
 der, while the cavalry, with the light-armed troops,
 faced the enemy. Nor were they called off from
 their post, till the front of the entrenchment and fosse
 were completed. The king likewise, who had been
 ready to fight that day without shuffling, brought
 back his forces to their camp, contenting himself
 with their being sensible, it was the enemy's fault they
 had not come to an action. The camp being suffi-
 ciently fortified, C. Sulpicius Gallus, a tribune of the
 second legion, who had been prætor the year before,
 with the consul's permission, assembled the soldiers,
 and acquainted them, ' that the night following, lest
 ' any should take it for an ominous phænomena, the
 ' moon would be eclipsed from seven to nine o'clock.
 ' That as this was the effect of a natural cause at sta-
 ' red times, it could both be known and told be-
 ' forehand. Therefore since they did not wonder at
 ' the moon's shining sometimes in her full orb, and
 ' sometimes in a small crescent, because both the ri-
 ' sings and settings of the sun and moon were deter-
 ' mined; neither should they take it for a prodigy,
 ' if she was obscured when she came under the earth's
 ' shadow.' This eclipse of the moon happening as
 was predicted, on the night between the third and
 fourth of September, the Roman soldiers thought
 Gallus inspired. The Macedonians were much af-
 fected with it, looking on it as a sad presage
 of the downfall of their kingdom, and destruc-
 tion of their nation: nor were their diviners less
 terrify'd, insomuch that crying and howling were
 heard in their camp till the moon recovered her
 light. The next day both armies were so eager for
 engaging, that both the king and the consul were
 blamed by some of their men for retiring with-
 out blows. The king had his defence in readiness,

not only in that the enemy had first openly declined it, and drawn off his men to their camp; but also because he had drawn up his army in a place where the phalanx, which even a small unevenness of the ground renders useless, could not be brought on. The consul, besides that he seemed to have let slip an opportunity of fighting the day before, and given the enemy, if he pleased, an opportunity to go off by night, then also seemed to waste the time under pretext of sacrificing, when the signal had been made for marching to the charge at break of day. At length about nine o'clock, the sacrifice being duly performed, he called a council of war, where he was thought by some to spend the time proper for action in unseasonable talking and deliberations. Nevertheless, after all their speeches, he made the following harangue.

THE illustrious youth Nafica was the only person of all who were for engaging yesterday, who discovered his sentiments to me; but by his silence afterwards he seemed to acquiesce in mine. Some others took the liberty to blame their general behind his back, rather than admonish him to his face. I will not grudge to give the reasons of my delay, both to you, P. Nafica, and to those who thought as you did, though they concealed their sentiments. For I am so far from repenting of my yesterday's inaction, that I believe I thereby saved the army. And that none of you may think I have no good reason for this my opinion, if you please recollect with me how many advantages the enemy, and disadvantages we had. Now first of all, how superior they were in numbers, I am certain none of you were ignorant of before; besides, I am confident you perceived it yesterday, when you saw their ranks so crowded. Of the small number we had, a fourth part was left to guard the baggage; and you know the most unactive are not wont to be left on this duty. But suppose we had all been to attack together, can it be thought a matter of no

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CHAP.
XXXVIII.

consequence, that we are to march to day, or at farthest to morrow, into the field, if it shall so seem meet, through the help of the Gods, from this camp in which we have rested to night? Is there no difference, whether you order a soldier, who hath not been fatigued with marching or working to day, but rested and fresh, to arm in his tent, and bring him out to the field in high spirits, and vigorous both in body and mind; or expose him fatigued with a long march, wearied with his burden, flowing with sweat, his mouth parched with thirst, his face and eyes filled with dust, scorched with the heat of the sun in the meridian, to an enemy fresh and rested, who brings his whole strength with him to battle, without having spent any of it before? Who, for God's sake, in so good condition, though a coward or dastard, will not conquer the bravest man alive? Besides, when the enemy had formed themselves at their leisure, recruited their spirits, and stood orderly every man in his rank, must we have made our dispositions in a hurry, and charged in confusion?

CHAP.
XXXIX.

YOU'LL grant, I suppose, that our army could not have been form'd. Well! Had we, besides, a fortify'd camp, had we provided a watering place, posted guards to secure our retreat, and reconnoitred the circumjacent posts; or had we only the bare ground on which we were to fight? Your ancestors considered a fortified camp as a security against all chances that could befall an army: from whence they might march out to battle, and to which they might retreat, when tossed with the tempest of fighting. Therefore, after they had fortify'd it with works, they secured it with a strong guard; because he who lost his camp was looked upon as defeated, even though he had the advantage in the battle. A camp is a retreat to the conqueror, and a refuge to the conquered. How many armies, after being worsted in the field, and driven within their lines, have at a proper opportunity

CHAP. XXXIX.
 tunity, sometimes in a moment after, sallied out
 and beaten their victorious enemy? This military
 feat is another kind of native city, the trenches serv-
 ing for walls, and every soldier's tent for his dwell-
 ing house. Should we have fought as vagrants
 without any quarters to have retreated to on our
 being victorious! To these difficulties and impedi-
 ments in the way of fighting it is objected, what if
 the enemy had gone off under favor of the night,
 how much fatigue must we again have undergone
 in following him quite to the remotest parts of Ma-
 cedonia? But I am fully persuaded that he would
 neither have stayed nor drawn out his forces into
 the field, if he had resolved to quit this place. For
 how much easier would it have been to have march-
 ed off when we were at a great distance, than now
 when we are on his skirts? He could not deceive
 us in retiring either by day or by night. And what
 ought we to wish for more than to attack in the
 rear, whilst they are going off in confusion through
 the open fields, after having quitted their entrench-
 ments, those whose camp, being secured by the
 steep banks of a river, besides being enclosed with
 a rampart and many turrets, we have undertaken
 to besiege? These were my reasons for not fight-
 ing yesterday. For my own part now I am re-
 solved to engage; and therefore because the way
 to the enemy is blocked up by the river Enipeus,
 I have opened a new passage through another post,
 by dislodging the guards of the enemy; nor will I
 give over till I have vanquished them.

CHAP. XL.
 AFTER this harangue there ensued a profound
 silence, some being brought over to his sentiments,
 and others fearful of giving offence to no purpose in
 a matter, which, however it had been neglected,
 could not be recalled. And indeed it was not with the
 inclination either of the king or the consul that they
 engaged even that day: not with the king's, because he
 was neither to attack them whilst fatigued with their
 march as the day before, nor drawing up their men

CHAP.

XL.

in a hurry, or before they were formed; nor of the consul, because neither wood nor forage had been yet brought into his new camp, and because a great part of his soldiers were gone to fetch them from the neighboring places. Neither general being willing, fortune, which overrules human counsels, brought them to blows. There was a small rivulet near the enemy's camp, from which both the Macedonians and Romans watered, having guards posted on both banks, that they might do it with safety. On the part of the Romans were the Marrucinian and Pelignian cohorts, with two troops of Samnite horse commanded by M. Sergius Silus a lieutenant general, besides an advanced guard posted before the camp, under C. Cluvius another lieutenant general, consisting of three cohorts, the Firman, Vestin, and Cremonean, and two troops of horse, the Placentine and Æfernian. Whilst they continued unactive at the river, neither side attacking, about four o'clock a packhorse getting out of his leader's hands, run over to the further bank. Three Romans followed the horse through the water almost up to their knees, while two Thracians attempted to drag him from the middle of the channel to their side. The Romans killed one of the latter, and having recovered the horse, returned to their post. On the enemy's side was a guard of 800 Thracians. A few of them at first taking it ill to have their countryman killed in their view, passed the river in pursuit of the murderers; then more of them, and at last the whole guard, and along with it [the troops from the next posts on both sides advanced with ardor. By this means the action began in the water. Some authors say, that the consul ordered the horse to be unty'd, and drove to the enemy's side, and sent men to bring him back, in order to provoke the enemy to be the aggressors. For the first victims were not favorable, though the last were, and the haruspices declared, 'that they portended victory to the Romans, 'provided they acted only upon the defensive, without striking 'the first blow.' Reinforcements flying without orders to the support each of their own party, the action at length became general. For the noise of the few who engaged with ardor at first, made the consul quit his camp. He seeing it both unsafe and difficult to recal or stop those who were rushing on with blind

blind fury, thought it best to take advantage of their ardor, and turn chance into an opportunity. Riding therefore along the lines, he by his countenance and gesture, as well as speeches, exhorted the troops to behave gallantly, and in a manner worthy the dignity of the Roman name. In the mean time P. Nàfica, who had been detached to reconnoitre the enemy, returned with advice, that Perfes was advancing with all his troops formed into four brigades. In the van were the Thracians, men of fierce aspect, tall and robust, and covered with shining buskins, which they held in their left hands. On their legs they had cuissarts, on their shoulders a black mantle, and carried in their right hands glittering sabres of great size. After the Thracians came the mercenaries of different nations, the greatest part of them with oval bucklers, but differently armed and dressed, after the fashion of their respective countries. Among the rest were some Pæonian mountaineers. The third line consisted of chosen Macedonian youth, one complete phalanx, glittering in gilded coats of mail, and scarlet cloaks. One part of it was called Leucaspides, because their bucklers were silvered. In it's rear were the veteran troops, called Aglaspides, from their bright brazen shields. The plain was illuminated with the reflection of the sun's rays from these splendid arms, and the neighboring hills re-eccho'd their shouts, as they were hastening and animating each other to battle. Neither did the consul delay, but flew to the front of his men. The troops of Perfes, that carried small round bucklers, did not long sustain the attack of the Latin allies. But when the phalanx engaged the action carried a terrible aspect. For taking their bucklers from their shoulders, they planted them like a rampart before them, and joining their armor close, with their pikes level'd over them, they without danger to themselves wounded the Romans, whose shields were pierced by the iron points of the enemies spears, and their swords of no use by reason of the length of the Macedonian pikes, so that far from reaching their bodies, they could not even reach their bucklers. Though this disadvantage made great impression on the consul, yet with an intrepid and chearful countenance, without shield or cuirass, he flew from rank to rank, animating his troops. A centurion, named Salius, who commanded a Pelignian battalion, roused by the consul's exhortation, snatched the colors from their bearer, and threw them amongst the thickest of the enemy. Hence ensued a bloody attack, while on the one side the rest of the Pelignians exerted their utmost efforts to wipe off the dishonor of losing their colors, and the Macedonians on the other strove with all their might to keep them. The former endeavored to cut the Macedonian pikes with their swords, beat them down with the bosses of their bucklers, or turn them aside with one of their hands; while the latter grasping them fast with both their hands, with so great vigor repulsed the Pelignians, who rushed on them with a blind fury, that neither their bucklers,

CHAP.
XL.

helmets, or coats of mail, could ward off the blow. The front ranks of the Pelignians being thus repulsed, the rest gave ground. While they were retreating towards mount Olocrus, Æmilius, who had rent his robe through rage, ordered them to halt and take courage. For he considered, that it was impossible for the enemy always to keep their close order; but that though it then appeared impenetrable by its indissoluble union, they must break and disunite in some place, either for want of room, the inequality of the ground, or uninterrupted attacks. In consequence as those, who endeavored to gain a higher ground, were obliged (though contrary to their inclination) to separate from those below, the nimble from the slow, those who advanced from them that halted, or those who charged from those who had been repulsed, some opening would be left, he pray'd the officers to watch the opportunity, and divide into single companies, that wherever they could see an opening in the phalanx, they might be ready in form of a wedge to throw themselves into it with the greatest vigor. These orders were punctually executed; and when they closed in in small detachments, the short bucklers and small swords of the Macedonians were no wise comparable to the heavy arms of the Romans. The inequality was still greater between the resolution, courage and skill in managing their arms of one and the other; and as the close order of the phalanx was broken and disunited, it was easy to run them through either in flank or rear. Here M. Porcius Cato, son of the censor, and son-in-law to Æmilius, performed a bold and memorable exploit. During the conflict, as he was fighting very eagerly, his sword happened to drop out of his hand, by which means he lost it. But resolved to die rather than suffer any thing belonging to him to remain in possession of the enemy, he fought out in the battle several friends of distinguished bravery, and with them opened himself a passage through the enemy's darts to the place, where the battle was hottest. He rushed with so great fury into the thickest of them, that driving them away with great slaughter, he found his sword in the void place, and carry'd it off with him. In this disposition of things, the first legion, full of spirits, and following with alacrity, was] brought on to the charge by the consul.

CHAP.
XLI.

THEY were moved with the dignity of his orders, his personal reputation, and above all with his age, who though above sixty years old, performed the duties of a young man, taking a chief part of the toil and danger. The legion entered the interval between the cetrati and phalanx, and broke the order of the enemy's battalia. It was in the rear of the cetrati, and fronting the targeteers, called Aglaspid-
des.

des. L. Albinus, a man of consular dignity, was ordered to lead the second legion against the phalangites, called Leucaspides, who were in the centre. On the right wing, where the fight had begun, near the river, the elephants were brought in, and a squadron of the allies horse. Here the flight of the Macedonians first began. Yet as the most part of new human devices have force in words, but upon trial, when it becomes necessary to act, not to discourse on the manner of acting, they vanish without any effect; so at that time the elephants were only a name in the army without use. The Latin allies seconded the assault of the elephants, and broke the left wing. In the centre the second legion charged, and broke the phalanx. This victory was most evidently owing to the small platoons that first disordered and then routed the phalanx, whose force is irresistible whilst it continues compact with spears extended in front. If by attacking them in different places they are forced to turn their long unweildy spears, they are strangely entangled; but if charged in flank or rear, they are put into downright confusion; as at that time when compelled to make head against the Romans, who rushed in upon them in platoons at some distance from each other, and wherever any openings were made, occupied the space in small companies: whereas if they had charged with their whole army in one front against the phalanx in it's proper order, which happened to the Pelignians, who charged the cetrati rashly at the beginning of the fight, they would have been entangled among the spears, and unable to bear the shock of such a compact body.

HOWEVER as the foot were slaughtered every where, unless such as threw down their arms and fled; so the cavalry went off the field almost untouched. The king himself began the flight, and was by this time on his march from Pydna to Pella, with his horse guards. Cotys immediately followed with the Odryfian cavalry, the rest of the Macedonian horse went off with their ranks entire; for as

CHAP. the infantry was between them and the victors, the
 XLII. latter were so busy in slaughtering the foot, that they
 had no thoughts of pursuing the horse. During a long time the phalanx was slaughtered in front, flank and rear. At last those that escaped the enemy's sword, fled unarmed towards the sea, where some even entered the water, stretching out their hands to those that were in the fleet, and in an humble manner begging quarter. And when they beheld boats coming off every where from the ships, believing they came to take them up as prisoners, rather than to kill them, some swam farther in to meet them. But being wounded in a hostile manner from the boats, those that were able swam back to land, where they fell into another more grievous disaster : for the elephants being driven by their riders to the shore, trod them under foot and crushed them as they came out. The Romans unanimously agreed that never such a number of Macedonians were killed in one battle. For about 20000 were slain, 6000 which had fled from the battle to Pydna were taken prisoners, besides 5000, who fell into their hands as they were straggling in the flight. Of the conquerors not above 100 were killed, the far greater part of whom were Pelignians ; however a greater number were wounded. If the action had begun more early, so that the victors had had day sufficient to pursue them, the whole army had been destroyed ; but night coming on, both concealed the fugitives, and made the Romans slack in following them through places unknown.

CHAP. PERSES, attended by his court, and a considerable
 XLIII. body of horse, took the road to the forest of
 Pieria. When come to the wood, in which were many different roads, it being late in the day, he by mistake took a wrong road with a few of his most trusty confidents. The cavalry, being left without a general, separated, and went every man to his own city ; and only a few having held in the right road arrived at Pella before the king. The king was perplexed

plexed till near midnight with fear, and divers difficulties on the way. He found in the palace Enetus, governor of Pella, and his pages, ready to attend him. On the other hand, none of his friends, that had escaped from the battle by different chances and got to Pella, came near him, though often sent for. He had only three companions in his flight, Evander a Cretan, Neon a Boeotian, and Archidamus an Aetolian. With these he had fled away at the fourth watch, already fearing lest those that had refused to come to him, should quickly make some bolder attempt. About 500 Cretans followed him to Amphipolis. He had left Pella in the night in order to cross the Axios before day; believing the Romans would stop their pursuit there, because of the difficulty of passing it.

CHAP.

XLIII.

THE consul, having returned to the camp, could not taste the joy of his victory, through the anxiety he felt on missing his youngest son. This was P. Scipio, who was afterwards surnamed Africanus, for ruining Carthage. He was the real son of the consul Paullus, but grandson of the first Africanus by adoption. He was then but 17 years of age, a circumstance which increased the father's anxiety. As he pursued the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried by the croud away from the rest of the army. However, he returned late at night, and upon his safe arrival the consul at last tasted the joy of so great a victory. The report of the battle having by this time reached Amphipolis, and the women flocking together into the temple of Diana Tauropolis, to implore her protection, Diodorus, governor of the town, fearing lest the Thracian garison, consisting of 2000 men, should pillage it during the tumult, received a forged letter in the middle of the forum, from one whom he had suborned to personate a courier. The contents of it were, 'That the Roman fleet had made a descent at Enmathia, and were harassing the country thereabouts: that the commanders in chief at Enmathia beg'd he would send them

CHAP.

XLIV.

CHAP. XLIV. assistance against these ravagers.' After reading this, he exhorted the Thracians 'to march to the defence of the Emathian coast; where they might make a great slaughter of the Romans stragling about the country, and get a rich booty.' He also lessened the report of Perses's defeat. 'If it was true, said he, the fugitives would have come one on the heels of another.' By this means he got rid of the Thracians, and as soon as he saw them pass the Strymon^a, shut the gates.

CHAP. XLV. THE third day after the battle Perses came to Amphipolis; from thence he sent a trumpet to Paulus with a caduceus. In the mean while Hippias, Mido and Pantaucus, the chief of the king's friends, went to the consul and surrendered Beræa, whither they had fled after the battle. Other cities being struck with fear, resolved to follow the example. The consul having sent Q. Fabius, his son, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus to Rome with the news of his victory, granted his infantry the spoils of the enemy's routed army. He suffered his cavalry to pillage the adjacent country, provided they should not be above two nights absent from the camp. He himself encamped at Pydna near the sea. Beræa first, then Thessalonica and Pella, and afterwards almost all Macedonia submitted within the space of two days. The Pydnians, who were nearest, had not yet sent ambassadors, for a mixed multitude composed of different nations, and the crowd, which had assembled there after their flight from the battle, obstructed the deliberations and resolutions of the inhabitants, and their gates were not only shut, but even built up with bricks. Mido and Pantaucus, being sent up to the walls to confer with Solon, who commanded the garison, he sent out the crowd of soldiers. The town having surrendered, was abandoned to be plundered by the soldiers. Perses, having attempted his last resource, to get assistance from the Bisaltæ, to whom he had in vain sent ambassadors, appeared in

^a Now *Stromona*, rises in mount *Orbeles*, and runs into the *Ægean sea*,
their

their assembly attended by his son Philip; that by his exhortations he might encourage the minds both of the Amphipolitans and the horse and foot, who had either been his constant followers, or happened to come thither in their flight. But being several times interrupted in his discourse by his tears, and not able to finish his harangue himself, he told Evander the Cretan what he would have said to the assembly, and went down from the tribune of harangues. The multitude, though melted into tears, and sighing bitterly at the sight of the king and his melancholy tears, yet despised Evander's harangue. Nay, some had the assurance to cry out in the midst of the assembly, 'be gone from hence, that we few who are left, be not involved in your ruin.' This boldness stopt Evander's mouth. The king returned to his lodging, and having carried his treasures, both the gold and silver, on board some pinnaces that lay in the Strymon, followed the course of the river. The Thracians, afraid of the sea, departed to their own homes with crowds of other soldiers. The Cretans followed Perfes still, in hopes of sharing his treasures; and because there was more ill will than thanks to be got by dividing it amongst them, fifty talents^b were laid on the shore as a booty to them. After getting this prey they hurried on board the boats in so tumultuous a manner, that they sunk one in the mouth of the river by overloading her. That day they came to Galipfus^c, and the next day they reached Samothracia, whither they were bound. Perfes is said to have carried about 2000 talents^d thither.

PAULLUS, having dispatched governors to all the towns that had submitted, that no injury might be done to the conquered in the time of peace; and keeping the king's trumpet with himself, sent P. Nafica to Amphipolis with a detachment of horse and foot, not knowing of the king's flight from

^b 9687 l. 10 s. ^c On this side the *Hebrus*, near the mouth of the *Nessus*. ^d 387500 l.

CHAP.

XLVI.

thence. This officer also had orders to ravage Sintice, and oppose all the king's attempts. In the meanwhile Melibæa was taken and plundered by Cn. Octavius: and at Æginium, which Cn. Anicius the lieutenant was sent to besiege, 200 were lost by a fall from the town, the Æginians not knowing that the war was at an end. The consul marching from Pydna with his whole army, in two days reached Pella, and having encamped about a mile from it, staid there for some days, viewing the situation of the town on every side, which, he observed to have been chosen for the residence of the court not without reason. It is situate on a rising ground looking towards the north west, surrounded with a marsh of unpassable depth, both summer and winter, by the overflowing of lakes. In that part of the marsh nearest the town rose, as it were, an island, upon a mound of prodigious work, which was able to support a wall, and received no injury from the moisture of the surrounding fens. It seemed at a distance to be joined to the town wall, but was separated by a river, with a bridge cross it; so that there was no passage for a besieger from without, nor no way for any whom the king had shut up there, to escape, except by the bridge, which was very easily guarded. Here the king's treasure was kept, but at that time no more was found than the 300 talents, which had been sent to king Gentius, and afterwards stopt. Whilst the army continued at Pella, several ambassadors, especially from Thessaly, who had come to congratulate the consul, received their audience. Afterwards advice arriving that Perseus had gone to Samothrace, the consul set out from Pella, and reached Amphipolis in four days. The whole multitude running out to meet him, made it evident to all the world that the king by his ill conduct, injustice and rapines [had lost the affections of his subjects, who rather hated than loved him. At Amphipolis the consul ordered a sacrifice to thank the Gods for so signal a victory. They testified their acceptance by a prodigy: A fire from heaven lighted the wood laid on the altar; by which Jupiter seemed not only to approve of the victors vows and prayers,

ers, but to ratify the honor and worship paid to himself. After that the consul set out after Nafica, who had been detached to ravage Sintice, and entered Odomantice, at the foot of mount Orbelos, and on the confines of Dardania and Thrace, that he might leave no enemy behind him, nor any place that had not felt his victorious arms. From thence he removed to Siræ, where he continued encamped for some time.]

B O O K X L V.

Æmilius Paullus takes Perses prisoner in Samothrace. Antiochus king of Syria, besieges Ptolemy and Cleopatra of Ægypt, allies of the Romans, and the senate send envoys, ordering them to raise the siege. When he receives the message, he answers, that he would take time to consider of it; but Popillius, one of the ambassadors, draws a circle round him with a vine twig, ordering him to give an answer before he came out of it. This peremptory command obliges Antiochus to quit his enterprize. Several ambassadors with compliments of congratulation from different kings and states receive audience. However the Rhodians are excluded because they had been against the Romans in the Macedonian war. Next day it is debated in senate, whether war should be declared against them. But upon their deputies pleading the cause of their country in the senate, they are dismissed without being declared either enemies or allies. Macedonia made a Roman province. Paullus triumphs notwithstanding the opposition of Galba and of his own troops, because they had but a small share of the booty. Perses is led before his chariot in the procession. But that the joy of this triumph might not be complete, it is damped by the death of his two sons. The censors close a lustrum, and the number of citizens inrolled amounts to 312810. Prusias, king of Bithynia, comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans on their victory over the Macedonians, and recommends his son Nicomedes to the senate. This fulsom flatterer, styles himself the slave of the Romans.

THOUGH Q. Fabius, L. Lentulus and Q. Me- CHAP. I.
tellus, who were sent to Rome with the news of
the victory, made all possible haste, yet at their arrival
they found the city in transports of joy on account of
it. For the fourth day after the battle with the king,
whilst the games were celebrating in the circus, a re-
port spread among the spectators, that a battle had
been fought in Macedonia, and the king defeated. It
occasioned

CHAP. I. occasioned at first some noise among them, they sent up a general shout, with clapping of hands, as if they had received certain intelligence of the victory. The magistrates were surprized, and enquired after the author of this sudden good news; but finding none, the uncertainty somewhat abated their joy: however they still entertained hopes, looking on this as a good omen. And finding the news confirmed by Fabius, Lentulus and Metellus, they rejoiced not only on account of the victory, but of the presages of their own minds. But there is another no less probable account of the premature joy in the circus. A courier, who affirmed he came from Macedonia, delivered a letter on the 22d of October, and second day of the Roman games, to C. Licinius, as he was going to give the signal for the chariots to start, containing an account of the victory. Upon this, as soon as the chariots were started, he mounted his own, and riding round the circus to the spectators seats, shewed the people the letter. As soon as they saw it, they, without minding the races, run full speed into the midst of the circus, where the consul immediately summoned the senate, and by authority of the conscript fathers, informed the people, ‘ that his colleague L. Æmilius ‘ had fought a pitched battle with Perſes; the army ‘ of the Macedonians was routed and cut to pieces; ‘ the king had escaped with a few of his guards, and ‘ that all Macedonia was reduced under the Roman ‘ subjection.’ As soon as they heard this, they sent up loud huzzas and acclamations, and quitting the forum went home to acquaint their wives and children with this joyful news. This happened on the thirteenth day after the battle.

CHAP. II. THE next day the senate met and appointed public thanksgivings. They also made a decree ‘ that ‘ the consul should disband all the army except the ‘ ordinary number of land and sea forces, the dis- ‘ charging of whom should be deferred till embassa- ‘ dors should arrive from Æmilius, who had only ‘ sent a courier with news of the victory.’ Before the

the 26th of October, about eight o'clock the ambassador entered the city, followed by great crowds of people which always encreased till they came to the forum. The senate was then sitting, and immediately gave them audience. The fathers detained them only till they informed them, ' of what number the king's army consisted, how many of it were killed and taken prisoners, how few men the consul had lost, how great a carnage there was of the enemy, and with what a handful the king had escaped; that they imagined he had retired to Samothrace, whither the fleet was ready to go in quest of him, so that he could not escape either by sea or land.' A little after they made the same recital to the people, whose joy was renewed when the consul ordered all the temples to be opened, and that all should directly leave the assembly to return thanks to the Gods. They were crowded with women as well as men. The senate, being again assembled, decreed public thanksgivings for the victory obtained by the consul Æmilius, and that the greater sacrifices should be offered. They farther voted, that the ships which were ready to set sail to Macedon, should be countermanded and laid up in their respective ports; that their crews should be discharged, and a year's pay given them, with all the troops which had taken the military oath to the consul: also the soldiers that lay at Corcyra and Brundisium near the Adriatic sea, and in the country of the Larinates, were likewise to be dismissed, for they had the army posted in those places, that Licinius might aid his colleague in case of necessity.

TWO ambassadors arrived from Illyricum with the news, that the Romans had defeated the Illyrians, taken Gentius their king prisoner, and that Illyricum was now under the Roman subjection. The senate appointed publick thanksgivings for three days on account of this victory, gained by the conduct and under the auspices of the prætor Anicius; and the consul appointed the *feriæ latinæ* to be celebrated on the

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III.



the 10th, 11th, and 12th of November. Some analysts say that the Rhodian deputies were just arrived at Rome, and after the news of the victory had their audience of the senate out of derision. That Agasipolis, chief of them, made the following speech. ' We were sent embassadors to negotiate a peace between the Romans and Perſes, becauſe that war was burdenſom and prejudicial to all Greece, expensive and hurtful to you. However fortune has highly favored us in terminating the war by other means, and giving us only an opportunity of congratulating you on your ſignal victory.' Thus ſpoke the Rhodian, and the ſenate replied, ' The Rhodians ſent you, neither out of regard to the intereſts of Greece, or our expences in the war, but ſolely to oblige Perſes; for had the former been your deſign, as you pretend, you would have been ſent two years before, when Perſes led his victorious troops through Greece, beſieging ſome cities and by menaces obliging others to ſurrender. But at that time you had not ſo much as thoughts of peace. Now when you underſtood, that the Romans had penetrated into Macedonia by almoſt inſuperable defiles, and that Perſes was hemmed in on all ſides, your ſtate ſent their embassadors with no other view than to extricate Perſes from his perilous circumſtances.' With this answer they were diſmiſſed.

CHAP.

IV.



ABOUT the ſame time, M. Marcellus returned from Spain, where he had taken a conſiderable city, Marcolia^a. He brought into the public treasury ten pound weight of gold, with about 10000 ſeſterces. The conſul Æmilius, who, as we ſaid above, had encamped near Siræ, in the Odomantic country, received a letter from Perſes, ſent by three contemptible deputies. Upon receipt of it, 'tis ſaid he wept at the viciffitudes of human affairs. Perſes, who not contented with the kingdom of Macedon, but had attacked the Dardans and Illyrians, and called in the

^a Unknown.

Bastarnæ to his aid, after having lost his army, and been banished his kingdom, was now forced to take shelter in a small island, where the sanctity of the place, not arms, secured him. But when he read these words, *King Perfes to the consul Paullus, health*, the stupidity and ignorance of that prince with respect to his condition, stifled in him all sense of compassion; and though the rest of the letter was more humble than became a king, yet he dismissed the deputies without any answer either written or verbal. Perfes then became sensible, that as he was vanquished, he must forget his regal title. Accordingly he sent a second letter, using only his name not quality. In this he desired and obtained that some proper persons might be sent to confer with him concerning his present unfortunate situation. P. Lentulus, A. Posthumus Albinus, and A. Antonius, were sent to him: but this embassy proved abortive, in regard Perfes would not quit his title of king, while Paullus insisted on his submitting at discretion.

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IV.

DURING these transactions, the fleet under Cn. Octavius landed at Samothrace. Besides the present alarm, he endeavored, sometimes by menaces, and at others by promises, to induce Perfes to surrender to the Romans. An incident, either accidental or designed, favored him in this. For L. Atilius, a noble young Roman, perceiving the people of Samothrace met in an assembly, desired leave of the magistrates to speak. Having obtained his request, he said, ‘My hospitable friends of Samothrace, is it with or without foundation, that we have been told, that this island is said to be holy, and sacred and inviolable through it’s whole extent?’ When they all declared the sanctity of the place, ‘Why then, continued he, is a murderer, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes, suffered to violate it? As all sacred ceremonies begin, by excluding all whose hands are not pure, how can you permit your temple to be profaned by the presence of an infamous homicide?’ It had been

CHAP.

V.

CHAP. V. been commonly reported in all the cities of Greece, that Evander had attempted Eumenes's life at Delphi. Therefore since they, their island, and temple were now in the power of the Romans, and fearing they should be deservedly reproached with harboring an assassin, they sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, to whom they gave the title of king, to acquaint Perfes, that Evander the Cretan was accused of murder. That they had an established law, handed down from their ancestors, concerning such as brought polluted hands within the sacred boundaries of the temple. If Evander was innocent, he might appear and justify himself before the judges; but if he would not submit to a trial, he must consult his safety and quit the asylum.' Perfes sent for Evander and told him, that he would not by any means advise him to submit to the trial, for he was afraid, lest upon his being found guilty, he himself should be reputed the author of that atrocious crime, and that nothing remained for him, but to die bravely. Evander seemingly complied with his advice, but told him he chose rather to die by poison than the sword: mean time he privately provided for his escape. The king being informed of this, ordered him to be murdered, lest he should draw the wrath of the Samothracians upon himself for screening the criminal from the punishment he deserved. As soon as he had rashly committed the fact, it immediately occurred to him, that he was now as criminal as Evander, who had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, as he had killed Evander at Samothrace. Thus two of the most sacred temples in the world were contaminated with blood. However, to palliate the crime, he bribed Theondas, to tell the people, that Evander had killed himself.

CHAP. VI. THIS horrid murder of the only friend he had left, whose fidelity he had tried in many adversities, and betrayed because he would not be a traitor, so far alienated the affections of all people, that they went over to the Romans, and forced him, thus abandoned

to himself, to contrive his escape. He sent for Oroandes a Cretan, who was well acquainted with the coast of Thrace, having traded all along it for some time, to take him on board his ship and carry him to Cotys. The bark lay in port at Demetrium, a promontory of Samothrace. About sun-set they embarked all their necessaries, with as much money as they could, privately. At midnight the king, with three attendants, privy to his flight, went out at a back door into a garden near his house, and so came to the harbor. But Oroandes had weighed anchor as soon as the money was embarked, and sailed for Crete. Perfes, finding the ship was gone, walked for some time upon the shore, but fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, hid himself on one side of the temple, near an obscure corner. In Macedonia the children of the nobility who were chosen to attend the king, were called *pueri regii*, royal pages. This band followed the king, till Cn. Octavius ordered an herald to proclaim, that all the king's household and other Macedonians, then residing in Samothrace, upon their surrendering to the Romans, should have their lives, liberties, and all the effects they had either there or in Macedonia. Upon this they all surrendered, and gave a list of their names to C. Posthumius a legionary tribune. Ion the Thessalonian also delivered Perfes's children to Octavius; so that none remained with him but Philip his eldest son. Then he surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, accusing the Gods, who had not protected him when he fled into their temple for refuge. He was ordered to be put on board the admiral's ship, with the money that remained. The fleet immediately sailed back to Amphipolis. Octavius sent the king to the consul, who was then in the camp, having before sent him advice of his being taken, and that he was bringing him with him.

THE consul, looking on this as a second victory, as it really was, immediately offered sacrifices to the Gods, and assembling the troops, read the letter.

CHAP. VII. Then he detached Q. Ælius Tubero to escorte the king, ordering many of the other officers to stay in his own tent. Scarce was ever show so much crowded as this. Syphax indeed had been taken, and carried to the Roman camp in memory of their fathers; yet he was not to be compared with Perfes either in personal renown or that of his country; for Syphax was only an ally in the Punic war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian: but Perfes was the head of the war, and illustrious not only by his reputation, and that of the father and grandfather from whom he was descended; but Philip and Alexander the great, who had made Macedonia the capital of the world, reflected an additional lustre upon him. Perfes entered the camp dressed in mourning, attended by none of his own family to aggravate his misery by being themselves in the same condition. He could not move forward for the crowd that pressed to see him, till the consul ordered the lictors to clear the way to the pretorium. Æmilius rose up, and ordering every body to continue sitting, advanced a few steps, took the king by the hand as he entered, and raising him when he fell prostrate at his feet, brought him into his tent, and seated him opposite to those who formed the assembly.

CHAP. VIII. HIS first question was, ‘What injury had induced him to undertake a war with so much inveteracy against the Romans, by which he had utterly ruined both himself and his kingdom?’ As, instead of the answer they expected, he remained silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground; the consul continued: ‘Had you ascended the throne in your youth, I should be less surprized to find you ignorant, of what importance it was to have the Romans your friends or enemies. But when you was personally engaged in the war, which your father made against us, and might have remembered the peace, which we observed inviolably, how could you chuse war preferable to peace, with a people, whose valor in war and fidelity in peace you had experienced?’

‘rienced?’ As he made no more reply to this accusation than to the former question, the consul added, ‘Whether these things have happened either through mistake, to which every man is liable, chance, or inevitable destiny, take courage. For the clemency the Romans have shewn to many other unfortunate kings and states, may inspire you not only with hope, but almost an assured confidence of safety.’ This he spoke in Greek to Perſes, and then in Latin addressed the assembly: ‘You have before your eyes,’ said he, ‘a remarkable instance of the inconstancy of human affairs. I principally direct my discourse to you, young men. You ought not to insult any person, when in your prosperity, nor rely too much on your present good fortune; you know not what changes a night may produce. He only is a man of real courage and merit, who is not elated in good nor dejected in bad fortune.’ Having dismissed the assembly, he gave Ælius the care of the king. The same day Perſes was invited to sup with the consul, and all other honors, consistent with his present condition, were conferred on him.

THE army was then sent into winter quarters; the greatest part to Amphipolis, and the rest to the neighboring cities. Thus terminated the war between the Romans and Perſes, after having continued four years; and thus ended the most splendid kingdom in Europe, and almost in Asia. Perſes was reckoned the thirty ninth king from Caranus, the first that reigned in Macedonia. He began his reign in the consulate of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius, and was recognized king by the senate, under the consuls M. Junius and A. Manlius: he reigned eleven years. Macedonia was an obscure kingdom till the time of Philip son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it began to make acquisitions; but all within the confines of Europe: It then comprehended all Greece, with part of Thrace and Illyricum. Then it extended into Asia, and during the thirteen years of Alexander’s reign, all the Persian empire was added

ed to it. Then he pursued his conquests on one side as far as Arabia, and on the other to India, which was reckoned the extremity of the world, bounded by the Red Sea. Then the Macedonian empire was at it's height ; but upon Alexander's death was divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms by his successors, each engrossing as much as he could to his own share. From this towering height it was subverted, after it had subsisted 150 years.

CHAP.

X.



WHEN the news of the Roman victory reached Asia, Antenor, who lay at Phanæ with his fleet, sailed for Cassandrea. C. Popillius, who lay at Delos, to protect the ships bound to Macedonia, after he heard the war was terminated, and the enemy's fleet beat from their station, dismissed the Athenian ships, and proceeded on his destined embassy to Egypt, that he might meet Antiochus before he approached Alexandria. As the ambassadors passed by Asia, and came to Loryma, a port about twenty miles distant from Rhodes, exactly opposite to that city, the principal citizens met them (for the report of the victory had even reached them) conjuring them to come there, ' Because it would tend to the safety and reputation of their state, that they should know all the past and present transactions of the Rhodians, and carry back an account to Rome of what they had been eye-witnesses of, and not what they had learned by common report.' The envoys refused for a long time, but were at length prevailed on to stop their voyage a little, for the benefit of an allied city. When they landed at Rhodes, the people, by the same intreaties, brought them into their public assembly. However the arrival of the ambassadors rather augmented than diminished their fears ; for Popillius recounted all the hostile words and actions which had been uttered and committed during the war, either by individuals, or consent of their state. Besides, being a man of an imperious temper, he enhanced the atrociousness of the crimes he recounted, by the severe air of his countenance, and talking in the



the strain of an accuser : infomuch that since he could have no private pique at them, they could easily from the severity of this one senator conjecture, how the senate in general stood affected to them. Caius Decimus spoke with more moderation. He said, ‘ the people were not to be blamed, but a few incendiaries, who instigated the rabble. Those sycophants, whose tongues were venal, had dictated decrees that flattered the Macedonian in the most abject manner, and had sent to him embassies, of which their state was both ashamed, and would always repent. But, if the Roman people had it in their power, all these mischiefs should turn to the destruction of the guilty.’ He was heard with applause, not because he had lessened the guilt of the people, rather than laid the blame on those who were really criminal. Wherefore, when their chief men answered the Romans, the discourses of some of them, endeavoring to extenuate the crimes Popillius had charged them with, were by no means so grateful, as the speeches of those who with Decimus declared for bringing the real criminals to condign punishment. In consequence a decree was immediately passed, condemning all who should be convicted of having said or done any thing in favor of Perſes against the Romans.’ But on the arrival of the Romans, some of the guilty had quitted the city, and others laid violent hands on themselves. The ambassadors stayed only five days at Rhodes, and immediately set out for Alexandria. However the Rhodians did not delay the execution of their sentence, which perseverance was the effect of Decimus’s moderation.

DURING these transactions, Antiochus, having in vain attempted to take Alexandria, quitted the siege, and having got possession of all the rest of Egypt, retired to Syria, leaving at Memphis the elder Ptolemy. He had covered his invasion under pretext of conquering that kingdom for him, while his real design was to attack which ever of the brothers should be victorious. Ptolemy penetrated this



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XI.

his design : concluding therefore, that while his brother was terrified at the thoughts of a siege, he might by means of his sister and his brother's ministers, who would not be averse to it, be received with welcome at Alexandria ; he immediately sent one messenger after another, first to his sister, then to his brother and his courtiers, till he had made peace with them. What rendered Antiochus suspected, was, that after the rest of Egypt had surrendered to him, he had left a strong garison at Pelusium, by which it appeared he intended to secure the inlets to Egypt, that he might re-enter it with his army when he pleased ; and that the issue of the intestine war between the two brothers would be such, that which ever of them proved victorious, would be so exhausted by the war, as not to be a match for him. The elder brother very prudently considered these things, and the younger, with consent of his ministers, approved of them as just. Their sister forwarded the design, not only by her advice, but also by her entreaties. In consequence both parties unanimously concluded a peace, and even with consent of the multitude Alexandria was restored. It was sore pressed for want of provisions, not only during the siege, but after it was raised, because they had no supplies from Egypt. This reconciliation ought to have been matter of joy to Antiochus, if he had entered Egypt with the design of restoring the elder Ptolemy, as he speciously pretended to the embassadors that came to his court, and by letters to all the states of Asia and Greece. But, on the contrary, he was so much chagrin'd, that he prepared to attack them both with greater ardor and fury, than he had done formerly one of them. He directly dispatched his fleet for Cyprus, and early in the spring, marching his army back to Egypt, advanced as far as Cœlo-Syria. Near Rhinocolura he met embassadors from Ptolemy, who thanked him, that by his means he had been reinstated in his paternal kingdom ; desiring at the same time that he would secure him in what he had generously acquired.

‘ quired for him, and inform him, what he would
 ‘ have done, rather than of an ally become an ene-
 ‘ my, and procede by force and arms.’ He answer-
 ed, ‘ he would neither lead back his army nor fleet
 ‘ till they resigned to him Cyprus and Pelusium,
 ‘ with the country lying on that branch of the Nile.’
 Then he fixed a day, betwixt and which he expected
 to have their answer.

WHEN this truce was elapsed, he sent his fleet CHAP.
 from the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, whilst he XII.
 marched his army through the deserts of Arabia into
 Egypt; and having either reduced all the country
 between the Nile and Memphis, with the rest of E-
 gypt, by fear or voluntarily, he, by easy marches,
 proceeded to Alexandria. Having passed the river,
 the Roman embassadors met him at Leusine, a town
 four miles from Alexandria. After the usual com-
 pliments, the king offered his hand to Popillius, who
 presented him with the decree of the senate, and bad
 him ‘ first of all read it.’ Antiochus, having done
 so, said, ‘ he would advise with his council, and
 ‘ then give his answer.’ But Popillius, with his usu-
 al ruggedness, drew a circle upon the sand round the
 Syrian with a vine twig he had in his hand, saying,
 ‘ before you quit this circle, give me the answer I
 ‘ am to carry back to the senate.’ The king, asto-
 nished at so imperious an order, after a short pause,
 humbly replied, ‘ The senate shall be obey’d.’ Then
 Popillius gave him his hand as a friend and ally of
 the commonwealth. Antiochus having quitted E-
 gypt on a day fixed by the envoys, the embassadors,
 having by their authority confirmed the treaty be-
 tween the two brothers, which had not yet been
 quite concluded, set out for Cyprus, where they dis-
 missed Antiochus’s fleet, which had already defeated
 the Egyptians in an action by sea. This embassy,
 which took Egypt from Antiochus, when already in
 possession of it, and reinstated Ptolemy in his father’s
 kingdom, made a great noise in the world. As one
 of the consuls for this year had made himself conspi-
 cuous

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cuous by a signal victory, so the other had acquired no glory, for want of opportunity to signalize himself. First of all, when he entered the temple to pay his vows, after having appointed the rendezvous of his troops, he had neglected the proper ceremonies, and the priests, when the affair came before them, declared that the day was ill appointed. He then marched into Gaul, where he encamped in the plain of Macri, near the mountains Sicimina and Papinus, and afterwards took up his winter quarters near the same place with the allies of the Latin name. The Roman legions stayed at Rome, because the day of rendezvous had not been duly appointed; and the prætors, except C. Papirius Carbo, who had Sardinia set out for their respective provinces. For the senate thought proper he should stay at Rome to judge causes between the citizens and strangers, the cognizance of which had also fallen to him by lot.

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POPILLIUS, and the other ambassadors sent to Antiochus, returned to Rome, and reported that the war was terminated betwixt the kings of Egypt and Syria, and that the army of the latter had marched home. Then envoys arrived from these two nations. Antiochus's represented, ' that the peace
' which the senate thought fit to order their master
' to make, was preferable in his opinion to all the
' victories he could have gained; and that he had
' obeyed the orders of the Roman ambassadors, as
' if they had been the commands of the Gods them-
' selves.' They afterwards congratulated the Romans upon the victory they had obtained over Perses, in which their master, if the senate had laid their commands on him, would have assisted with all his forces. The Egyptian ambassadors, in name of their master and Cleopatra, declared, ' they believ-
' ed themselves more indebted to the senate and peo-
' ple of Rome, than to their own parents, or to the
' immortal Gods, having been delivered by them
' from the calamities of a siege, and reinstated upon
' the throne of their progenitors, from which they
' had

‘ had been almost expelled.’ The senate replied, ‘ that Antiochus had acted wisely, and as he ought to have done, in obeying the embassadors, and that his conduct was extremely agreeable to the Roman senate and people. That they rejoiced exceedingly at the thoughts of the benefit and advantage it had derived to the Ptolemys and Cleopatra, and would endeavor to make them sensible that their crowns should always find sure protection from the Roman republic.’ The prætor C. Papirius was ordered to make the embassadors the usual presents. The letters which arrived from Macedonia, with an account that Perfes was now in the hands of the consul, doubled their joy. After the Egyptian embassadors had their audience of leave, there arose a dispute between the deputies of the Pisans and those of Luna. The Pisans complained, ‘ that the inhabitants of the latter had expelled them out of part of their possessions;’ while those of Luna asserted, ‘ that the land in dispute was given them by the commissioners who settled them.’ The senate appointed five commissioners, Q. Fabius Buteo, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Sempronius Musca, L. Nævius Balbus, and C. Apuleius Saturninus, to survey and settle the boundaries between them. Deputies also arrived from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenæus, to congratulate the Romans on their late victory. Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, found there the quæstor L. Manlius, whom the senate, being informed of his coming, had sent to meet him, with money to defray his expence on the road to Rome. The senate gave him audience as soon as he arrived. The subject of this young prince’s speech was very grateful, but rendered much more so by the graceful and polite manner in which he delivered it. After having mentioned the cavalry and infantry, elephants and corn, his father had supplied the Roman armies with, during the four years that the Macedonian war continued, he added ‘ two things, of which his father was ashamed;

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shamed; the one, that the senate should have desired, and not commanded, him to furnish the Romans with these aids; and the other, that they had paid for the corn. For Masinissa was still sensible he was indebted to the Romans for his crown, and every augmentation of it, and would be content with the use of them, acknowledging the sovereign right and property in them to be vested in the Romans, who had given him them. Therefore it was just they should take, without asking or paying for, the product of a country, which they had bestowed upon him. Whatever part the Romans should leave him, was and would be sufficient for him. That these were the instructions his father had given him at his setting out; but after being informed of the defeat of Perſes, he had sent a courier after him with instructions to congratulate the senate upon their victory, and to protest that the news had given him so much joy, that he was desirous to come to Rome himself, and offer thanks and sacrifices to Jupiter, in his temple on the capitol, for so great a blessing; and desired the senate's permission to take that journey, if they should not think it troublesome.

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THE senate answered the young prince, 'Your father gives the highest proofs of his honesty and gratitude, and by his polite and agreeable manner enhances the value and honor of the favors he merits. If the Romans help'd him to regain his kingdom, he deserved it for his steady and faithful services in the Punic war. With the same firm zeal and attachment he continued his good offices in the wars against three kings successively. We are not therefore surprized he takes part in the last victory of the Romans, since he has trusted his fate with ours, and is resolved to share good and bad fortune with us. He may thank his Gods for the victory in his own palace, and his son do it in his name at Rome. Moreover he had already paid the senate sufficient compliments of congratulations.

And

And besides the fatigue and inconvenience of so long a voyage, it was not the interest of the Roman people that he should remove so far from A-

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frica. Masgaba desired that Hanno the son of Hamilcar should be given as a hostage, instead of another Hamilcar. But the senate reply'd, that it would be unjust in them to demand hostages of the Carthaginians at Masinissa's pleasure. They ordered the quæstor to lay out 100 pound weight of silver in jewels for him, and to convoy him as far as Puteoli, defraying all his expences while in Italy, and to freight two ships to carry him and his retinue to Africa, and give robes to all his attendants. Some time after advice arrived, that Misagenes, another son of Masinissa, who had been sent home by Paulus with his cavalry after the victory, and whose fleet had been dispersed in a tempest in the Adriatic sea, had arrived at Brundisium with three ships, and was taken ill there. The senate sent L. Stertinius the quæstor to him with the same presents that had been given his brother, and orders to hire an house for him [and his retinue; to take proper care of his health and entertainment, and when recovered furnish him with ships to carry him to Africa.

ABOUT this time the plebeian tribunes prosecuted M. Milvius, P. Lollius, and L. Sextilius, the officers appointed to prevent fires in the night, because they came not time enough to give the necessary orders for extinguishing a fire in the via sacra. Then the comitia were held and the fasces given to Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus. The new prætors were Q. Cassius Longinus, M. Juventius Thalna, Ti. Claudius Nero, A. Manlius Torquatus, Cn. Fulvius Gillo, and C. Licinius Nerva. This same year the censors Ti. Gracchus and C. Claudius executed their office with an exact severity, though opposed by the tribunes. They had hitherto kept up a perfectly good understanding between themselves, but fell into variance in relation to the freedmen. To prevent them by their intrigues from gaining the ascendant at elections in the tribes among which they were dispersed, Gracchus insisted on having them reduced into one tribe. In this Claudius opposed him, declaring against any innovation of the kind, but strictly adhering to the institutions of Servius Tullius the king, and those of the censors C. Flaminus and L. Æmilius, by which] the freedmen were dispersed in the four city tribes, except those who had a

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son above five years of age, by act of senate. Then they ordered to be registered, where they had been enrol'd by the preceding censors, and granted the privilege of being members of tribes to all who had an estate, or estates in the country, upwards of 30000 sesterces^a a year. As this was the ancient regulation, Claudius insisted, ' that without an ordinance of the
 ' people, no censor had a power to deprive a single
 ' citizen, much less a whole order, of the right of
 ' suffrage. For though he could remove him from
 ' his tribe, which was nothing else than ordering him
 ' to exchange one tribe for another, yet this did not
 ' extend to a power of totally expelling him the 35
 ' tribes, i. e. depriving him of his freedom and right
 ' of citizenship, excluding him from being a mem-
 ' ber of any tribe, without the liberty of being en-
 ' rolled.' Such was the dispute betwixt them. However they at last agreed, that the four city tribes should cast lots in the temple of Liberty, into which of them the freedmen should be incorporated. The lot fell to the Esquiline, upon which Gracchus declared, that it was his pleasure that all the freedmen should be enrol'd in it. This gained the censors great honor with the senate, and they thanked Gracchus for his steady perseverance in his design, and Claudius for not opposing it. A greater number of senators and knights were degraded than in former times. Besides the censors were unanimous in removing them from their tribes to the rank of *æarii*, without the one taking off the mark of infamy imposed by the other. When they petitioned to be continued 14 months longer in office, in order to raise the taxes for the public repairs, and to finish the works begun, Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, opposed them, because they had not chosen him a member of the senate. The same year C. Cicereius dedicated a temple on mount Alba, five years after he had vowed it, and L. Posthumius Albinus was inaugurated priest of Mars.

WHEN Q. Ælius and M. Junius, the consuls, moved the senate to assign the provinces, the fathers decreed, that Spain should be divided into two provinces, which had been but one during the Macedonian war, and that L. Paullus and L. Anicius should continue in Macedonia and Illyricum, till they settled the commotions raised during the war, and new modelled these kingdoms, agreeable to the sentiments of the commissioners sent thither for the purpose. Pisa and Gaul, with two legions of foot and 400 horse, was allotted to the consuls. As for the prætors, the judging causes between citizens fell to Q. Cassius, and that between foreigners and citizens to Juvencius; Sicily, to Nero; Hither Spain, to Fulvius; and Farther, to Nerva. Sardinia fell to Torquatus, but being detained by a decree of the senate, to take cognizance of some capital crimes, he could not go for his province. Then the senate was consulted concerning the prodigies that had happened, viz. that the temple of the Dii Penates, in the quarter called Velia, had been struck with lightning; in Minervium^a two gates and a wall had met with the same fate; at Anagnia it had rained stones; at Lanuvium a shining meteor had been seen in the air; M. Valerius a Roman citizen at Calatia, had told that a stream of blood had issued from his fire for three days and two nights running. The decemvirs being ordered to consult their books, appointed public prayers, and sacrificed fifty goats in the forum. Public supplications for a day were also decreed in all the temples, the greater sacrifices killed, and the city purified on account of other prodigies. When the senate had settled the affairs of religion, they next decreed, that since their enemies Perſes and Gentius were vanquished, and Macedonia and Illyricum subjected, that the prætors Q. Cassius and M. Juvencius should offer as great presents in all the temples, as Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius the consuls, had done after the victory gained over Antiochus.

Q. Æl. Pæ-
tus, M. Ju-
nius Pennus,
consuls,
Y. of R. 585.
B. J. C. 167.

^a Now *Castro*, in *Calabria*.

THEN

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THE N they appointed the commissioners by whose advice the generals, L. Paullus and L. Anicius, were to regulate affairs; ten for Macedonia and five for Illyricum. Those for Macedonia were, A. Posthumius Luscus, and C. Claudius, who had both been censors, C. Licinius Crassus, Paullus's colleague in the consulate, and who had his commission renewed for the province of Gaul: To these of consular dignity they added, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Ser. Cornelius Sylla, L. Junius, C. Antistius Labeo, T. Numisius Tarquiniensis, and A. Terentius Varro. Those for Illyricum were, P. Ælius Ligus, lately consul, C. Cicerius and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus (the latter had been prætor the preceding year, and the former many years before) P. Terentius Tusceicanus and P. Manlius. The senators advised the consuls, that since it was necessary one of them should succede C. Licinius, who was pitched on to be of the commissioners, in the province of Gaul, that they should either agree between themselves, or draw lots for the provinces as soon as possible. Accordingly Pisa fell to M. Junius, who before he set out introduced to the senate all the ambassadors who came to congratulate the Romans on their victory. Gaul happened to Q. Ælius. The persons chosen commissioners for Macedonia were such, that their prudent management might have been rely'd on, and the generals would have done nothing unbecoming the clemency and gravity of the Roman people, yet the affair was maturely discussed by the senate, that the commissioners might carry the plan complete to the generals.

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PREVIOUS to all other things it was decreed, ' that the Macedonians and Illyrians should
' be free, to convince all nations, that the end of the
' Roman arms was not to enslave free people, but the
' contrary; so that some might always retain their
' liberty under the protection of the Roman name;
' and others, under the government of kings, might
' be treated with greater moderation and equity out
' of consideration for the Romans: or that, if war
' should

‘ should ever arise between such kings and the Ro- CHAP.
‘ man people, the nations might know, that the event XVIII.
‘ would be victory to the Romans, and liberty to
‘ them. The senate suppressed the duties upon the
‘ mines, and revenues of certain countries, because
‘ those taxes could not be levied without tax farmers,
‘ and wherever those were, the publick was either
‘ cheated or the allies oppressed. The Macedo-
‘ nians themselves might have been impowered to le-
‘ vy them: but it was judged, that the handling of
‘ the publick money always enriching those who had
‘ it, it would be an occasion of envy and discord
‘ between them, and continual matter of sedition.
‘ They decreed, that there should be no general
‘ council of the whole nation in Macedonia, lest the
‘ insolent multitude should make the liberty the se-
‘ nate gave them, degenerate into a pernicious licen-
‘ tiousness, which liberty could not be salutary, but
‘ whilst used with moderation. Macedonia should
‘ therefore be divided into four regions, of which
‘ each should have it’s particular council, and should
‘ pay half the taxes, usually paid the kings, to the
‘ Romans.’ The instructions were the same with re-
‘ spect to Illyricum. The deputies and generals were
‘ to manage as they thought proper in other cases,
‘ which might be suggested to them on the spot.

AMONGST the different embassadors of kings CHAP.
and states which came to Rome, Attalus brother of XIX.
Eumenes, attracted the attention and regard of the
Romans more than all the rest. He was received at
Rome with as great marks of distinction, by those
who had served in the same war with him, as if Eu-
menes had come in person. He had two plausible
pretexts for undertaking this journey: first, to con-
gratulate the Romans upon their victory, and then to
complain of the incursions of the Gauls, ‘ for Adver-
‘ tas, one of their petty kings, exceedingly harassed
‘ their kingdom.’ Besides he had conceived some
secret hopes of receiving from the senate rewards and
honors, which he could not obtain consistently with
the

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the affection he owed his brother. Some of the Romans, by false suggestions, soothed his hopes, and increased his ambition. They intimated to him, ' that the Romans formed very different judgments of him and his brother. For he was looked upon as the true friend of the Romans, but Eumenes as neither faithful to them nor to Perses. He was sure of obtaining, whatever he should demand for himself, and what he should ask against his brother, the senate being unanimously disposed to grant him, and deny his brother, whatever he should ask.' Now Attalus (as it proved) was one of those who are ambitious of obtaining all their hopes flatter them with, and had done so at this time, had not he been restrained by the wise counsels of a friend, who, as it were, put a bridle upon his ambition. He had with him a physician called Statius, whom Eumenes on suspicion had caused to attend him to Rome, as a spy on all his actions, and faithfully to admonish him in case he should observe him depart from his duty. Though Attalus's ears were already prepossessed, and his mind under strong temptations, yet Statius took advantage of some favorable moments, and brought him back from the brink of ruin, by remonstrating, ' that though other kingdoms acquired their greatness by different means, yet theirs, but new of itself, and established on no ancient foundation, had only subsisted by the union of the brothers, only one of whom bore the title of king, and wore the diadem, while they all reigned in reality. And who did not reckon Attalus king, as he was the next in age to Eumenes? and that not only on account of his great power at present, but because, considering the great age and infirmities of his brother, the time of his succeeding could not be remote, especially as Eumenes had no legitimate children, (for he had not yet acknowledged the son who succeeded him). Why should he anticipate by force what would soon happen in a natural course? Besides, the insurrection of the Gallo-Greeks had occasioned

ed new troubles in their kingdom, which could scarce be quelled by the union and concord of all their family. But if to a foreign war they should add intestine seditions, not all their power could prevent their ruin. Besides, what else would be the issue of his present enterprize, but frustrating his own near hopes of succeeding, in case his brother should die in possession of the crown. If it was a glorious thing both to preserve the crown to his brother and to take it from him, certainly the most honorable of the two was the former, as closely connected with fraternal affection. But since the contrary conduct was detestable, and next to parricide, what room was there for hesitation? Did he intend to divide the kingdom with his brother, or deprive him of it entirely? If he only aimed at a part of it, both would be weakned by such partition, and exposed to the insults of their neighbors: if at the whole, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person? or would he banish him at his years, and with his infirmities, or put him to death? That, not to mention the tragical end of fraternal discords related in story, he beg'd him to consider the recent example of Perses, who having shed his brother's blood to secure a crown, had lately, prostrate on the ground, laid the same crown at the feet of a conqueror in the temple of Samothrace, in presence, as it were, of the Gods who pursue such criminals with unrelenting vengeance. That the very persons who had flattered the ambition of Attalus, more out of hatred to Eumenes than amity for him, would praise his fraternal affection and greatness of soul, if he persisted in his fidelity to his brother to the last.

THIS advice prevailed upon Attalus, who, when he had his audience, congratulated the Romans on their victory, laid before them his own exploits and those of his brother, with the revolt of the Gallo-Greeks, who had lately taken up arms in a numerous body. Then he desired they would send an embassy,

CHAP. XX. to make them lay down their arms. Having delivered these instructions relating to the kingdom, he concluded with asking for himself, in particular, the investiture of Ænos and Maronea. Thus the hopes of those who thought he would petition for his brother's kingdom, and complain of his conduct, were baffled, and Attalus withdrew. Hardly any king or private person was heard with more attention and regard, or was more highly honored when present, and had larger presents given him at his departure. Amongst all the embassies from Asia and Greece, that of Rhodes was most remarkable. It's deputies first appeared in white, the usual dress of those who came with compliments of congratulation, and indeed had they been dressed in mourning, they would have been thought to have been lamenting Perseus's misfortunes. When M. Junius the consul asked the fathers, 'whether they would give the envoys, who stood waiting in the comitium, the common entertainment, presents and audience,' they answered, 'that no rights of hospitality were to be observed towards them.' The consul immediately quitted the house, and the ambassadors representing to him, 'that they were come to congratulate them on their victory, and clear their state of the crimes they were accused of;' he told them 'the Romans always used to entertain their allies and friends courteously, and give them an audience; but the Rhodians had not behaved so in the war, as to be reckoned in that number.' Upon this they fell prostrate at his feet, begging of him and others then present, 'not to be so relentless as to suffer the new and false crimes objected to them to injure them more than their past services, of which they had been eye-witnesses, had derived benefit to them.' So they instantly dressed themselves in mourning, and went round the chief men with tears in their eyes, conjuring them to give them an audience before they condemned them.

CHAP. XXI. M. JUVENCIUS THALNA, the prætor, who had the cognizance of causes between citizens and

and foreigners, instigated the people against the Rhodians, and moved them 'to declare war against them, and to chuse such of their present magistrates as they thought fit to go with the fleet upon that expedition.' He expected to be nominated himself. M. Antonius and M. Pomponius, plebeian tribunes, opposed this bill. The prætor had of his own accord made this wicked attempt, without any precedent, and without consulting the fathers, or acquainting the consuls, to know 'whether they would order war to be declared against the Rhodians or not.' Whereas it had formerly been the custom, first to consult the senate, and then the people, in all cases of declaring war: it was also a rule with the plebeian tribunes, when such bills were brought before the assembly, not to oppose them, till they had allowed any private persons who pleased to speak in favor of, or against it. By this means it frequently happened that some of their college, who had not declared they would oppose them, yet had done so, when the arguments of the orators had discovered to them the defects of the bill; and they also, who had appeared against such motions, overcome by the weight of the arguments on the other side, had drop'd their opposition. But at present, the prætor and tribune strove who should act most irregularly. The tribune, by his opposition, would have had the prætor postpone the matter, till the arrival of Æmilius: [but Thalna, insisting that it was not capable of delay, urged a present declaration, and was proceeding in his harangue on that subject, when Antony pulled him down from the rostra, and fixed a day for the Rhodians to be heard in an assembly of the people. After the Rhodians first embassy by Agesipolis was reported at home, they had sent other two, at the head of the first of which was Philocrates, and of the other Astymedes, with whom Philophon had been join'd in commission. The people refer'd them to the senate, into which being introduced by the consul Junius, Astymedes spoke as follows.

'CONSCRIPT fathers, by vouchsafing to compare our former splendid appearance in this city, with the meanness of our present, you may easily form an idea of our wretched and deplorable condition. Yet still, if we dare speak the truth,

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our present disgrace with you is more the effect of false informations and calumnies, than of any real guilt on our side: as we will affirm, that, however individuals in a private station may have offended you, our state has committed no offence. And indeed we are astonished to see, that Rhodes, which with inviolate fidelity hath so long maintained an alliance with Rome, an alliance confirmed no less by your favors and benefits towards us, than by our services and steady submission to your republic, should now be charged with a shameful and ingrate violation of that very alliance.] Though it is yet a question whether we be guilty, yet we suffer all kinds of ignominy and punishment. In former times, when we came hither to congratulate you, after the defeat of the Carthaginians, Antiochus and Philip, we were brought from lodgings assigned us at your expence, to pay our compliments in the senate, from whence we went to offer presents to your tutelary Gods in the capitol. But now, like enemies, we are ordered to stay in the suburbs, in a poor miserable lodging, which we could scarce hire for money. In this mean condition, we Rhodians, on whom you lately bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria, besides other valuable presents and rewards, are now admitted to an audience. As we hear, you have granted the Macedonians and Illyrians, who were slaves before they engaged in the war against you, their liberty. We envy no persons good fortune, but rather acknowledge the clemency of the Roman people; but will you of allies declare open enemies of us, who only observed an exact neutrality in the war? No, certainly! for you are Romans, who pretend, that all your wars are successful, because founded in justice; and you do not pride yourselves so much in their ending in victory, as in your having undertaken them on reasonable grounds. The siege of Messina, in Sicily, made you enemies to the Carthaginians; as attacking Athens, attempting to enslave Greece, and aiding Hannibal with troops and money, made you to Philip. Antiochus, upon an invitation from the Ætolians, with a fleet came from Asia, invaded Greece, seized Demetrias, Chalcis, and the defiles of Thermopylæ, and attempted to wrest your empire

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‘pire from you: this drew your arms upon him. The grounds of your war with Perſes were, because he attacked your allies, and affaffinated the petty princes and chief men of ſeveral nations and ſtates. But if we are to periſh by your hands, pray what cauſe can be aſſigned for our meeting ſuch fate? We don’t as yet make the caſe of our ſtate, and that of Polyratus and Dion, with others whom we have brought hither to deliver up to you, diſtinct cauſes. For though we all had been equally guilty, what had been our crime in the war? We have declared for Perſes you’ll ſay; and as in the war with Philip and Antiochus we joined you againſt thoſe two kings, ſo now have we aided Perſes againſt you. Well! pray aſk C. Livius and Q. Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets in Aſia, how ready we were to aſſiſt your allies, and take part in the war. Your ſhips never fought without ours. Nay, we ſingly engaged Hannibal with our fleet once at Samos, and another time at Pamphylia: and what ſtill renders that victory more glorious to us, was, that though we loſt a great number of ſhips, and the flower of our youth, in the unfortunate action at Samos, not undaunted with theſe loſſes, we intrepidly attacked the king’s fleet returning from Syria. I don’t mention theſe things out of vain glory (for our preſent calamitous circumſtances will not ſuffer us to boaſt) but only to put you in mind how forward the Rhodians have always been in aiding their allies.’

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‘AFTER the defeat of Philip and Antiochus, we were generously rewarded by you. What if Perſes had had the ſame ſucceſs which you, by the favor of the Gods and your own valor, have had, and we had gone to Macedonia to demand rewards of the victor, what pretext could we have urged? Did we aid him with land forces or ſhips; with money or proviſions? What garriſon did we keep? Where did we fight, either under his officers, or by ourſelves? If he ſhould have aſk’d where were our troops and fleet in conjunction with his, what

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answer could we have made? No doubt but we would have urged the same arguments before the victor as we do now before you. For all we have got by sending embassadors to both to mediate peace, is the ill will of both; yea are used as criminals, and in danger of ruin from you: nay even though Perſes with juſtice might have objected what you, conſcript fathers, can't, that at the commencement of the war we ſent an embaffy promiſing to furniſh you with neceſſaries for the war, and to have our fleet and youth ready, as formerly on like occasions. Our not performing theſe promiſes was owing to you, who, for what reaſon we know not, deſpiſed our aſſiſtance. But after all, we did not act as enemies, and would not have neglected the duty of good allies, if you had not forbid us to move. What then, you'll ſay, Rhodians, was nothing either done or ſaid in your city which now you wiſh unſaid, and that might merit the reſentment of the Roman people? Here we will not pretend to apologize for all that was done. We are not ſo mad. But give us leave to diſtinguiſh between the caſe of the public, and that of individuals. There is no ſtate but is ſometimes moleſted with incendiaries, and always with a fickle ignorant populace. We have even heard, that ſome factious men among you, by cajoling the multitude, have graſp'd at ſovereignty, and that formerly your commons made a ſeceſſion, ſo that you had not then any power in your republic. If this has fallen out in ſo well governed a ſtate, need any one be ſurprized, that ſome deſigning men among us, courting the king's friendſhip, have ſeduced our people by their wicked counſels? And after all they prevailed no farther, than to make us ſtand neuter. For I will not even omit the greateſt crime our ſtate was guilty of in this war: We at the ſame time ſent embassadors to Perſes and you, to mediate a peace. This unfortunate ſtep, our hair-brain'd envoy (as we have heard ſince) rendered

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' ed quite ridiculous; for it is certain he spoke in as
 ' imperious a strain as if he had been your embassa-
 ' dor Popilius, whom you sent to terminate the war
 ' between Antiochus and Ptolemy. Whether this may
 ' be stiled folly or pride, yet it was used to Perseus as
 ' well as to you. States have their particular man-
 ' ners and dispositions as well as private persons.
 ' Some are passionate, some daring, some dastardly,
 ' and others much addicted to wine and Venus. The
 ' Athenians are said to be very active and daring,
 ' even beyond their abilities: the Lacedæmonians are
 ' slow, and with difficulty enter on enterprizes, even
 ' where they are sure to succeed. I can't deny but Asia
 ' in general produces a more volatile empty people,
 ' and that our nation talks in too imperious a strain, be-
 ' cause we excel all our neighboring states; and that
 ' not so much on account of our own strength, as
 ' of the honors you conferred on us, and your opi-
 ' nion of our merit. But that embassy, even at that time,
 ' was sufficiently punished by the unfavorable answer
 ' returned to it. If we at that time did not meet suffi-
 ' cient mortification, yet sure our present miserable
 ' and suppliant deputation may sufficiently atone for
 ' even a more insolent one than the former. Passio-
 ' nate men resent haughtiness, especially in words;
 ' but wise men only laugh at it, and more so, when
 ' from an inferior to a superior; but none ever judg-
 ' ed it deserving of capital punishment. For in
 ' truth, the only danger in the case was, lest the
 ' Rhodians should have contemned the Romans.
 ' Some have been so daring as to reproach and in-
 ' sult the very Gods, but we never heard of their be-
 ' ing struck with thunder for it.'

' WHAT then remains of our conduct to be
 ' cleared, since we have been guilty of no hosti-
 ' lities, and the insolent vain speech of our embassa-
 ' dors has only deserved some severe reprimands,
 ' but not the utter destruction of our city? I
 ' hear, conscript fathers, that it is urged in your
 ' private conversations as sufficient ground of quar-

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rel with us, that we inclined to favor Perſes, and wiſhed him ſucceſs in the war: for this ſome think we ought to be proſecuted with war: that others of you were of opinion, though we were guilty in this reſpect, yet that was not a ſufficient cauſe of coming to an open rupture with us; for it has never been found, by the laws or cuſtoms of any ſtate, that, though the death of an enemy has been deſired, he ſhould be inſtantly condemned to ſuffer, without having done any thing to deſerve it. We heartily thank thoſe who free us from the penalty though not from the crime. But we are content to join iſſue on this condition, that we all be equally involved in the puniſhment, if we all conſented to the crimes we are accuſed of; not making any diſtinction between the intention and the fact. If ſome of our chief citizens have been attached to your intereſt, and others to that of Perſes; we don't deſire them to be ſpared for our ſakes who favored you, but conjure you not to ſacrifice us to your reſentment on their account. The ſtate of which they are members is as much offended at their conduct as you, and many of them have either fled or laid violent hands on themſelves, and others, venerable fathers, who are already condemned, ſhall be delivered up to you: but as for the reſt of the Rhodians, though they have merited nothing in this war, yet ſure they deſerve no puniſhment. Let the accumulated ſervices of our anceſtors atone for our deficiencies in point of duty. You have been at war with three kings now for ſome years, and let not our neutrality in this one hurt us more, than our engaging in the two former derived advantage to us. Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perſes, be conſidered as three votes in our favor; the two firſt will certainly be for us, and the third, in the ſevereſt ſenſe, will appear doubtful. If they themſelves ſhould judge us, we ſhould be condemn'd. But do ye, conſcript fathers, determine, whether our city ſhall ſubſiſt any longer, or be quite razed.

You

‘ You may, if you please, declare war against us; CHAP.
 ‘ but you cannot make it: for not a single Rhodian XXIV.
 ‘ will take arms to defend himself against you. If
 ‘ you retain your resentment, we shall only ask time
 ‘ to go to Rhodes, and report our unfortunate em-
 ‘ bassy; and that instant all the men, women, and
 ‘ free persons of our state will embark with all our
 ‘ effects: abandoning the Gods of our country, and
 ‘ our household Gods, we shall come to Rome, and
 ‘ after having thrown all our gold and silver at your
 ‘ feet, we will all deliver up our own persons, wives
 ‘ and children, to your discretion. We will suffer
 ‘ the severest fate here before your eyes. If Rhodes
 ‘ is destined to be plundered and burnt, at least we
 ‘ shall by this spare ourselves the mortifying sight. You
 ‘ may by your sentence declare us enemies, but there
 ‘ is a secret sense within our breasts, that will pass
 ‘ one quite different; and whatever hostilities you
 ‘ may exercise against us, we shall never repay them
 ‘ in kind, if we should perish.’

AFTER this speech all the deputies prostrated CHAP.
 themselves upon the ground, and extending olive XXV.
 branches in their hands, desired peace, like suppli-
 ants; but were at length raised and withdrew. Then
 the senators proceeded to give their opinions. All who
 had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, præ-
 tors, or lieutenant generals, declared bitterly against
 them. M. Portius Cato, a senator, remarkable for
 the severity of his character, was softened at this time
 in favor of the Rhodians. I shall not here insert the
 speech which this copious orator made at that time,
 because it is extant in the fifth book of a work of his,
 entituled DE ORIGINIBUS. The answer given them
 was such as did not declare them enemies, or at the
 same time continued them as allies. Philocrates and
 Astymedes were the heads of this embassy. The
 former with some of the other deputies returned to
 Rhodes, to inform them of the result of their em-
 bassy; but the rest continued at Rome with Asty-
 medes, to observe the motions of the senate, and
 send an account of them to Rhodes. In the mean
 time

CHAP. time they were ordered, against a fixed day, to withdraw their governors from Lycia and Caria. This news, though really sad, occasioned some joy at Rhodes, since it delivered them from all apprehensions of a war, which they dreaded most. Whereupon they immediately decreed, that a crown worth twenty thousand pieces of gold ^a should be sent to Rome, and that Theodotus the admiral of their fleet should be charged with that business. But they agreed, ^b to beg an alliance of the Romans in such a manner as that there should be no decree of the commons relating to it, or that it should be put in to writing; for by that means, if they met with a repulse, they would avoid a great affront. In consequence, the only instruction they gave the admiral was, if possible, to solicit it without a public application to the senate. For they had continued many years in friendship with the Romans, without binding themselves by any formal treaty; and that for no other reason but to cut off from the king all hopes of their alliance, or from themselves, of reaping the fruits of their munificence and bounty. However, they ought at this time to have asked this alliance in earnest, not to screen themselves from the insolence of any foreign powers, for they dreaded none but the Romans, but to render themselves less suspected by them. About the same time the people of Caunus ^c revolted from them, and the Mylassians ^d seized the towns of the Euromeneses ^e. The Rhodians were not so much dispirited, as not to consider, ^f that if the Romans took Lycia and Caria from them, the rest of the towns dependent on them would either shake off their yoke by revolting, or be seized by their neighbors: and that then they themselves would be shut up in a small island upon the coast of a barren country, which could not support such a numerous body of people. Upon this (although they had sent for the aid of the

^a A piece of gold was worth 4 l. 9 d. *Calbis*. It is now called *La Rossa*.

^b A maritime city of *Caria*, in *Asia Minor*, about twenty miles from *Rhodes*, and near the mouth of the *Meles*. ^c Inhabiting the present *Melassio* in the same province. ^d Near the former.

Cibyratæ) they immediately dispatched their army to Caunus, and obliged it to submit. They also defeated, in a pitched battle near Orthosia, the Mylassenses and Alabandians, who after possessing themselves of the country of the Euromenses, had met them with their united force.

DURING these transactions at Rhodes, others CHAP. XXVI.
of importance happened both in Macedonia and at Rome. For in the mean time L. Anicius, having conquered Gentius in Illyricum, as we have already observed, had made Gabinius governor of Scodra, where the king's palace was, and C. Licinius of Rhizon, and Olzinium, two cities very commodiously situated. Having left them to command in Illyricum, he set out for Epirus with the rest of the army. Then Phanotæ immediately surrendered to him, the whole populace coming out to meet him with woollen fillets on their heads. After placing a garison in it he proceeded to Molossis, all whose cities surrendered themselves, except Passaron, Tecmon, Phylax and Horreum. He led his army first against Passaron. Antinous and Theodotus were heads of that city, men noted for their attachment to Perseus and hatred to the Romans, and who had been the authors of the whole nation's revolting from them. Accordingly, conscious of their own guilt, and expecting no pardon, they shut the gates, that they might fall in the public ruin of their country, exhorting their countrymen to prefer death to slavery. So great was their authority, that none dared to open a mouth against them. But at length one Theodotus, a young nobleman, being more afraid of the Romans than these two commanders, asked the people, ' what madness possessed them, to make the whole city accessory to the crimes of two men? I have, said he, heard of persons sacrificing their lives for their country, but these men are the first I ever heard of, who thought it reasonable that their country should perish with them. Let us then open the gates and submit ourselves to the command of those who are sovereigns of the world.' Upon this the people

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people followed him, and Antinous and Theodotus rushing upon the enemy's advanced guard, exposed themselves to their swords, and were cut to pieces. Then the town surrendered to the Romans. Cephalus, governor of Tecmon, from a like obstinacy, had shut it's gates; but the town was surrendered and he killed. Neither did Phylax nor Horreum stand out. Having thus quieted Epirus, and distributed his troops into winter quarters through the adjacent cities, he returned to Illyricum. He summoned an assembly of the chief men to meet at Scodra, where five commissioners from Rome were arrived. There he publicly declared, with advice of the council, 'that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians; and that they should withdraw their garisons from all the towns, fortresses and castles in their country; and that the Issians and Taulantians, with the Desseretian Tirustans, Rhizonites, and Olciniates, who, during Gentius's prosperity, had come over to the Romans, should not only be free, but exempted from all taxes. Also the Doaræses, because they abandoned Caravantius and joined the Romans. The Scodrians, Dassarans, Selepitani, and the other Illyrians should pay the Romans only half of what they used to pay to their king.' Then he divided Illyricum into three independent parts; one part comprehended that which was formerly called by that name; the second the country of the Labeates; and the third, the country of the Agrauonitæ, Rhizonites, the Olciniates, and their neighbors. Illyricum being thus settled, he returned to winter at Passaron in Epirus.

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DURING these transactions in Illyricum, and before the arrival of the ten commissioners, Paullus detached his son Q. Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to ravage Æginium and Agassæ. His reason for attacking the Agassæ was, that after they had surrendered their city to the consul Marcius, and of their own accord solicited an alliance with Rome, they had revolted to Perses. The people

ple of Æginium had lately been guilty of some new crime: for, not crediting the report of the Romans' victory, they had exercised great cruelty on some soldiers who had entered the town. He likewise sent L. Posthumius to destroy the city of the Ænii, because they obstinately continued in arms after the adjacent states had laid down theirs. The autumn now approached, at the beginning of which he was resolved to take a tour of pleasure through Greece, to visit the curiosities of the country, which were better known by report than eyesight; he gave the command of the camp to C. Sulpicius Galba, and crossed Thessaly with a small retinue, attended by his son Scipio, and Athenæus the brother of king Eumenes, and arrived at Delphi, where was the famous oracle of Apollo. After having sacrificed to that God, the victor ordered the pillars they had begun in the porch of the temple, and on which they were to place the statue of king Perseus, to be kept for his own. He likewise visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia. From thence, after seeing the mouth of the cave, through which the priests went down to consult the Gods, and having sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercynna, who have a temple in that place, he went to Chalcis, to view the streight of Euripus, and that island which, a century before, had a communication with the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis he passed to Aulis, an harbor about three miles distance, noted for Agamemnon's fleet of a thousand ships, riding there. He then visited the temple of Diana, where that king of kings^a purchased a fair wind to carry his fleet to Troy, by offering to sacrifice his daughter. He then came to Oropus in Attica, where the poet Amphilocheus is worshipped as a God, and where the temple is very ancient, and has many pleasant springs and rivulets about it. He next visited Athens, formerly noted for its curiosities, and still having many rarities to be seen, such as the citadel, the harbors, the walls that join the Piræus to the city, the arsenals

^a So called from commanding the other princes of Greece. ^b Iphigenia.

made by many great generals, and the statues of Gods and men, of the most exquisite materials and workmanship.

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XXVIII.

WHEN he had sacrificed to Minerva, the patroness of the citadel in that city, he set out from thence, and in two days arrived at Corinth. As it was before it's destruction, it was then beautiful, and the citadel and isthmus made a fine appearance. The citadel, though it stood on a mountain of immense height, abounded with springs. The isthmus parted the east and west seas. He then visited the famous cities of Sicyon and Argos, next Epidaurus, not equal to them in wealth, though famous for the temple of Æsculapius, which being about five miles distant from the city, was then greatly enriched with the presents the sick had offered to that God on account of their recovery, though we now see only the traces of these donations. He then set out for Lacedæmon, no wise remarkable for it's magnificent structure, but for the exact discipline and regular government of it's inhabitants. From thence he went through Megalopolis to Olympias, where, among other rarities, he was exceedingly struck with the statue of Jupiter, the sculpture of which was so exquisite, that the stone seemed to be animated. Therefore, as if he had been to sacrifice in the capital, he ordered greater preparations than ordinary for it. Thus he made the tour of Greece. However he made no enquiries any where concerning the dispositions of individuals or states during the war, that he might not alarm their fears. On his return to Demetrias, he was met by a crowd of Ætolians in mourning. Being surprized, and asking what the matter was, they complained to him, ' that Lyciscus and Tisippus, with a body of troops lent them by their governor Bæbius, had surrounded their senate, and massacred 550 principal men of their nation, banished others, and given the estates both of the murdered and exiled to their accusers.' He ordered them

• It was the work of Phidias. See Strab. and Pausan.

to meet him at Amphipolis, and went himself to meet CHAP.
 Octavius at Demetrias. As soon as he received ad- XXVIII
 vice that the ten commissioners were arrived, he laid
 aside all other business, and repaired to them at A-
 pollonia. Perfes, who was too negligently guarded,
 met him at Amphipolis, which was about a day's
 journey from thence. He received him with great
 kindness and civility, but when he came to the camp
 near Amphipolis, 'tis said he severely reprimanded
 C. Sulpicius, first, because he allowed Perfes to
 ramble through the province at so great a distance
 from him; and next, for indulging his soldiers so
 far, as to suffer them to pull the tiles off the houses
 to cover their own barracks. Then he ordered them
 to carry back the tiles, and put the roofs in as good
 condition as they were before. Perfes, with his el-
 dest son Philip, were delivered to the care of A. Post-
 humius. Then he sent for his daughter and youngest
 son from Samothrace to Amphipolis, where he treated
 them very courteously.

On the day he had appointed for ten principal CHAP.
 men from each city in the kingdom to be present at XXIX.
 Amphipolis, with all the public registers and king's
 treasure, he ascended the tribunal with the ten com-
 missioners, being surrounded by all the multitude of
 Macedonia. This new court made a terrible appear-
 ance to them, though they were only accustomed to
 regal government: for there was a licitor, cryer, and
 tipstaff, all whom they had never before seen or heard
 of, and which would have struck terror into allies,
 and much more into conquered enemies. Having
 caused the cryer to proclaim silence, he pronounced
 in Latin what had been determined by the senate and
 the commissioners present. Then the prætor Cn.
 Octavius (who was personally present also) explained
 the whole in Greek. It was as follows. First of
 all they ordered the Macedonians to be free, enjoy
 their cities, lands, by-laws, and chuse annual ma-
 gistrates. They should pay only half the tribute
 they formerly paid their kings. Macedonia should
 be

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be divided into four cantons, the first comprehend-
 ing the country lying between the Strymon and
 Nessus, to which should be added the districts pos-
 sessed by Perses, beyond the Nile eastward, with
 the villages, fortresses, and strong towns, except
 Ænus, Maronea, Abdera, and beyond the Stry-
 mon westward all Bisaltica, and Heraclea called
 Sintice. That the second should contain all the
 eastern part of the country watered by the Strymon,
 except Sintice, Heraclea and Bisaltica, and all the
 western part bounded by the river Axios, taking
 in the Pæonians who inhabit the east country on that
 river. The third should reach from the Axios east-
 ward, to the Peneus westward, and mount Orbelos
 on the north: Pæonia, which extended from the
 west beyond the river Axios, Edessa and Beræa
 were likewise added to it. The fourth should be
 the country beyond mount Orbelos, one side bor-
 dering on Illyricum, and the other on Epirus. Am-
 phipolis should be the capital of the first, Thessa-
 lonica, of the second, Pellæ, of the third, and Pe-
 lagonia, of the fourth. In these it was the diets
 should be held, the tribute paid, and magistrates
 elected. It was likewise declared, that none
 should be suffered to marry, or purchase houses or
 lands out of his own canton. That they should not
 be allowed to work in gold and silver mines, but
 they might in those of brass and iron; the miners
 to pay only half the taxes they had paid their kings.
 They should not use any imported salt. When the
 Dardans demanded back Pæonia, because it pro-
 perly belonged to them, and bordered on their ter-
 ritory, all that had been subject to Perses were de-
 clared free; and after they could not obtain Pæo-
 nia, they were allowed to carry on a salt trade with
 the Macedonians, ordering the third canton to carry
 it to Stobi of Pæonia; he also fixed the price of it.
 They were likewise prohibited from cutting down
 timber for building ships, or allowing others to do
 so. The cantons, bordering upon the barbarians,

‘ except the third, keep armed garisons upon their
‘ frontiers.’

THESE regulations made different impressions CHAP.
xxx.
upon them the first day of the diet. They were charmed with the unexpected grant of their liberty, and the lessening their tribute ; but the prohibition of all commerce between the different cantons, made them appear like an animal torn limb from limb, each of which needed the assistance of another. Nay the Macedonians themselves were not aware how considerable their nation of itself was, how easy to be divided, and how contemptible each part became by the division. The first canton was possessed by the Bisaltæ, a brave and warlike people, living beyond the Nessus, and about the Strymon : it abounds with many kinds of fruits, and mines of different metals : besides it has Amphipolis, so conveniently situated, as to stop all entering Macedonia on the east. The second contained the two famous cities of Thessalonica and Cassandrea, besides Pallene, a fertile country, and it's commodious situation for foreign trade by the harbors near Torone and mount Athos (call'd Æneas's port) some of which face the island of Eubœa, and others the Hellespont. The third comprehended the famous cities of Edeffa, Beroëa, Pella, and the warlike people of the Vettii, with many Gauls and Illyrians, most industrious farmers. The Heordeons, Lyncestæ, and Pelagoneans, possessed the fourth. Atintania Stymphalis and Elcmitis were joined to it. This is a cold, uncultivated and sour country, and the genius of the inhabitants resembles the climate : the neighboring barbarians also make them more wild, sometimes exercising them in war, and at other times introducing new customs, by mingling with them in time of peace. Macedonia being thus divided into distinct cantons, serving different purposes, and after having given them a general plan of government, he told them he would likewise give them a particular body of laws.

THEN the Ætolians were cited, but the only CHAP.
xxxI.
Vol. VI. M m enquiry

enquiry was, who had favored Perſes, and who the Romans; not who had done, or who had ſuffered wrong. The murderers were acquitted of injuſtice, the baniſhment of the exiles confirmed, and the death of the ſlain approved^a, only Bæbius was condemned for having employ'd Roman ſoldiers in this maſſacre. This deciſion in the affair of the Ætolians inſpired the Romaniſts in all the ſtates and nations of Greece with an intolerable pride, and kept in ſervile fear and ſubjection to them, all who were in the leaſt ſuſpected to have favor'd Perſes. During the war the principal men in the ſtates of Greece were divided into three parties, two of which either by abjectly flattering the Roman republic, or courting the alliance of Perſes, promoted their own private intereſt, at the expence of that of their country: the third opposed both theſe factions, and vigorously endeavored to preſerve the laws and liberties of their country. The more theſe were beloved by their countrymen, the leſs they were eſteemed by foreigners. The Romaniſts, ſluſhed with the republic's ſucceſs, got poſſeſſion of all offices at home, and alone were employed in embaſſies abroad. The latter ſort, from Peloponneſus, Bœotia, and other ſtates of Greece, came in great numbers to the diet, and dinned the ears of the ten commiſſioners with informations, ' that theſe were
' not the only partizans of Perſes who openly boaſted
' of his hoſpitality and friendſhip, but that he had a
' greater number of ſecret favorers: and that others,
' under pretence of preſerving the laws and liberties
' of their country, had in their aſſemblies prejudiced
' their people againſt the Romans, and that there
' was no other means of keeping thoſe nations in their
' duty, but by cruſhing the two oppoſite factions,
' and eſtabliſhing their authority, who had nothing
' at heart but the intereſt of the Roman republic.' Having given in a liſt of their names, the Roman general, by his mandate, ſummoned them all from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus and Bœotia, and ordered

^a See Sir Walter Raleigh's hiſtory.

them to follow him to Rome, there to be tried. Two of the commissioners, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius, went in person to Achaia, to summon that people. This they did on two considerations; first, because they believed the Achæans, having more spirit than the rest, would not obey; and for fear of endangering the lives of Callicrates and his associates in the accusations: secondly, because, though they had found, in Perses's cabinet, letters from the leading men in the other states, yet they had found none from the Achæans, to bring in evidence against them. The Ætolians being dismissed, the Acarnanians were next cited. But no alteration was made with regard to them, except only that Leucæ was dismembered from their body. After a fuller enquiry concerning the private and public favorers of Perses, they extended it even to Asia, and sent Labeo to raze Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to transplant the inhabitants to Methymna^b, because they had admitted Antenor one of Perses's admirals to take in provisions in their harbor, when his fleet was cruising about their island. Two of their leading men were beheaded; viz. Andronicus, the Ætolian, son of one of the same name, because he had carried arms under his father against the Romans; and Neon, the Theban, for advising them to make an alliance with Perses.

CHAP.
XXXI.

HAVING in the mean time made these enquiries into the affairs of other nations, the diet of the Macedonians was again convened. In it Æmilius declared, 'that it was necessary to chuse senators, called by the natives, Synedri, for governing Macedonia.' Then a list of the names of the Macedonian nobility was called over, all whom with their children above fifteen years of age, he ordered to go before him to Italy. This order at first view appeared cruel, but the commons of that kingdom soon perceived, it was given to secure their liberty. For in the list were the king's courtiers and friends, generals of armies, commanders of fleets and garisons,

CHAP.
XXXII.^b In the same island.

CHAP. **xxxii.** who were accustomed to pay servile court to their prince, and insult their inferiors; some of them very rich, and others who equalled these in expence, though not in fortune; and all used to live and dress like kings, would be impatient of living in a republic, and of that equality, which was the effect of laws and liberty. All such therefore as were employed in any offices under the king, or even in the meanest embassies, were ordered to quit Macedon, and go into Italy, under pain of death. He gave the Macedonians a body of laws for their government with so much care, that they seemed rather calculated for allies that had deserved well at their hands, than a conquered enemy; and so judiciously drawn up, that time and experience, the only correctors of laws, could find nothing to amend in them. After having ended this serious business, he celebrated at Amphipolis games which he had made great preparations for, and which he had notified to the kings and states of Asia by couriers; and in his tour of pleasure through the cities of Greece, informed their leading men in person. There were the most celebrated actors of all sorts, wrestlers, and fine horses, convened from all parts of the world, as also embassadors with victims, and whatever used at any other time to be offered at the solemn games of Greece. Every thing was performed in such a manner, that the spectators not only admired their magnificence, but even the general's skill in those games, to which the Romans were then entire strangers. Splendid entertainments were also provided for the embassadors with equal plenty and care. And it was commonly reported, that he should have said, 'he who knew how to conquer in war, knew also how to make an entertainment, and exhibit games.'

CHAP. **xxxiii.** HAVING performed games of all kinds, and embarked all the brazen shields, he piled up the rest of the arms into a great heap, and after invoking Mars, Minerva, Luna, and other Gods to whom it is lawful to dedicate the spoils of enemies, the general

ral himself set fire to the pile with a torch; then each of the legionary tribunes, who surrounded it, threw fire upon it. It was observed that in that numerous assembly convened from Europe and Asia, partly to congratulate the victors, and partly to see the games, and in so great a number both of sea and land forces, provisions were so plenty and cheap, that the general made presents of them to private persons, states and nations, not only for present use, but likewise to carry home. The vast crowds that met there, came not so much out of curiosity to see the games, wrestling, and chariot races, as the Macedonian spoils exposed to view: such as pictures, statues, tapestry, all kinds of gold and silver, brass and ivory vases of curious workmanship, which were kept in his palace; not for present show, as those with which the palace of Alexandria was filled, but for constant use. All these were put on board the fleet, and delivered to the care of Octavius to be carried to Rome. Paullus having graciously dismissed the ambassadors, passed the Strymon, and encamped about a mile from Amphipolis, from whence in five days he reached Pella. He passed it, and stay'd two days at Spelæus, from whence he sent P. Nafica and Q. Maximus his son with a strong detachment to ravage the country of the Illyrians, because they had aided Perfes in the war, ordering them at the same time to meet him at Oricus. He himself set out for Epirus, and in five days arrived at Passaron.

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HE was now nigh the camp of Anicius, to whom he dispatched a courier with letters 'forbidding him to meddle in the present affairs; for the senate had given the plunder of the cities of Epirus, that had revolted to Perfes, to the army.' Then he sent centurions into each city, under pretext of withdrawing the garisons, that the Epirotes might enjoy liberty as well as the Macedonians. He summoned ten leading men from each city, whom he ordered to bring all the gold and silver into the publick places, and forthwirth detached some cohorts to each city in

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such a manner as they might all arrive at their appointed posts on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to behave: in the morning the gold and silver were all brought out, and about ten o'clock the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder the cities. The booty was so considerable, that each horseman had 400 sesterces^a, and each foot soldier 200^b, and they carry'd off 150000 prisoners. Then they demolished the walls of about 70 cities. All the booty was sold, and the price distributed among the soldiers. Paullus then set out towards the sea to Oricum. He imagined he had satisfied his soldiers, but was mistaken, for they were offended that they had not shared in the king's treasures, as if they had not so much as drawn a sword in Macedonia. Finding Nafica and his son Maximus, with their detachment at Oricus, he embarked the army, and transported them to Italy. A few days after, Anicius, having assembled the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, ordered their leading men to follow him to Rome, reserving them to be tried there. Having waited the return of the fleet which had transported Æmilius's army, he set sail for Italy. During these transactions in Macedonia and Epirus, the ambassadors which were sent with Attalus to put an end to the war between the Gallo-Greeks and king Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a truce during the winter, the Gallo-Greeks went home, and the king set out for his winter quarters at Pergamus, where he was taken very ill. It was spring before he stirred abroad. In the mean time the commissioners came to Synnada^a, while Eumenes assembled his army from all parts to Sardeis. At Synnada the Romans had an interview with Solovettius, general of the Gallo-Greeks: Attalus also attended them thither; but it was not thought proper that he should go to the Gallo-Greeks camp, for fear of irritating them to quarrel. P. Licinius had a conference with the petty

^a 12 l. 18 s. 4 d.

^b 6 l. 9 s. 2 d.

^c In *Phrygia Major*, famous for marble.

prince of the Gauls, but reported that entreaties only irritated his ferocity. Thus it is surprizing, that the Roman embassadors should have had so much influence upon two potent kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, that they immediately concluded a peace, but none with the Gallo-Greeks.

THE two captive kings, Gentius and Perfes, CHAP. arrived first at Rome, and were their confined with xxxv. their children. After them came a great number of

ordinary prisoners, and such of the Macedonians and principal men of Greece as had been ordered to repair to Rome; for not only those who were present had been summoned, but even such as were said to have been at foreign courts, were sent for by letters. Some time after Paullus came up the Tyber on board one of the king's largest ships, having sixteen benches of oars, and decked with the Macedonian spoils. She was not only adorned with arms, but likewise with tapestry belonging to Perfes. The banks of the river were lined with vast crowds of people which poured out to see him. Some days after Anicius and Octavius landed with their fleet. The senate voted them all three a triumph; and Quintus Cassius the prætor, with the tribunes of the commons were ordered to move the people, in name of the senate, to empower these generals to retain their command for the day they should enter the city in triumph. Envy, neglecting inferior merit, generally aims at the most distinguished. For the people did not hesitate in relation to the triumph of Anicius and Octavius, but Paullus, to whom they would have been ashamed to compare themselves, was much reflected upon. He had maintained the ancient discipline among the soldiers; and had given them a less share than they expected of the vast booty taken from the king; for he would have left nothing for the treasury if he had indulged their avarice: in consequence the whole Macedonian army resolved not to attend their general at the comitia for passing the law. But Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who had been tribune of the second

legion in Macedonia, and was a secret enemy to the general, by cajoling some himself, and soliciting the rest by those of his own legion, induced them to attend and give their votes. ‘ You may now be revenged, said he, of your haughty and insolent general, by rejecting the bill for his triumph. The commons of the city will follow your example. Since he would not give you the money you desired, have you it not in your power to deprive him of honor? let him expect no favors where he has deserved none.’

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BEING thus irritated, Ti. Sempronius, tribune of the people, brought the bill before an assembly in the capitol. In such cases private men by law were permitted to speak; yet none appearing to oppose it, as it did not seem to admit any difficulty, Servilius Galba all of a sudden stepped forwards, and demanded of the tribune, ‘ that since the day was now far spent, it being two o’clock in the afternoon, and he had not time sufficient to give his reasons, why they should refuse L. Æmilius a triumph, the affair might be deferred till next day, when they might enter upon it in the morning; for they needed a whole day to plead that cause.’ The tribune desired him to speak his mind then. Upon this he began, and by details of facts and admonitions, spun out the time till night. He said, ‘ the troops had been enjoined more severe duty, and exposed to greater fatigue and danger than was necessary; and on the other hand, rewards, honors and every other advantage had been bestowed with a very illiberal hand: that as the war would be very hard and dreadful to the troops in the field, if such generals were employ’d, so when victors, they would be but poorly rewarded and honored. That the Macedonians were in better condition than the Roman soldiers. If they should all meet next day to reject the bill, then great men would know, that all power was not vested in a general, but some in the soldiers.’ Instigated by this harangue, the soldiers next day came in so great crowds to the capitol, that

that none else could enter to give their votes. The first tribes, being called, absolutely rejected the bill. Then the nobility ran to the capitol, loudly remonstrating, ' that it was shameful to rob Paullus, who ' had come off victor in so great a war, of his triumph : that generals should be subjected to licentious and avaricious soldiers. Generals often were ' to blame for remitting discipline to please the soldiers ; but what would be the consequence if private men became the commanders of generals ? ' Every one reproached Galba. At length, after the tumult was appeased, M. Servilius, who had been consul and general of horse, desired the tribunes to resume the affair, and allow him to speak to the people. The tribunes retired to deliberate on his request ; and, overcome by the authority of nobility, resumed the matter, and declared they would call the same tribes a second time, if M. Servilius, or any other private person had any thing to say.

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THEN Servilius spoke to the following effect. Romans, if we had no other proof of Æmilius's abilities as a general, even this would be sufficient, that though he had a mutinous and fickle army, and in his camp so notorious, rash and eloquent an enemy, to excite the multitude against him, yet he had no sedition among them. The same strict discipline, which they now resent, then restrained them. In consequence, they remained quiet while the ancient discipline was maintained. If Servius Galba had a mind to give a proof of his parts, and a specimen of his eloquence, by accusing Æmilius, he ought not to have opposed a triumph, which, all other considerations apart, the senate had declared him worthy of : no, he should have waited till the day after his triumph, when he would have seen him in a private capacity, and then lodged an information against him, and prosecuted him in a legal manner ; or till a longer time, when he himself should have obtained some magistracy, and then accused his enemy, and fixed the day of his trial,

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trial, before the people. By this means Paullus would have got the just reward of his excellent conduct in the war, a triumph; and at the same time met punishment, if he had been guilty of any thing unworthy of his ancient and recent glory. But truly since he had no real crime to object, no well founded reproach to throw out against him, he was resolved to detract from his merited praise. Yesterday he asked the space of a whole day to accuse Paullus; and then declaimed against him for full four hours, which was all that remained of that day. But who was ever so notoriously wicked, whose vices might not have been recounted in less time? After all, what did he object, which Paullus, was he to make his defence, could not with justice deny? give me leave a little; let us suppose his complaints to have been brought before two different assemblies; the one consisting of the army from Macedonia, the other of the whole Roman citizens, impartial, unprejudiced judges, actuated neither by favor or hatred. What, Galba, could you have said before real Romans? would not this fine speech of yours have been interrupted?" "You, Paullus, obliged us to guard our posts, with great severity and attention; you made our centinels and rounds do their duty with more rigor, than former commanders did: you exacted from us more fatigue than before, being every where in person, and affording us no respite. On the same day you led us from a march against an enemy. Nay, even after gaining the victory, you did not suffer us to enjoy repose, but immediately led us in pursuit of the enemy. When you had it in your power to enrich us by a distribution of the spoils, you reserved the king's treasures to adorn your triumph, and to be carry'd into the treasury." "But, Galba, though these things may serve to excite the resentment of troops, who imagine their licentiousness and avarice have not been sufficiently gratify'd; yet they would have had no weight with the Roman

‘ man people; who, without running back to what
 ‘ has been told them by their parents, for proofs of
 ‘ the defeats they have received by the mild and lax
 ‘ discipline of generals, and victories gained by the
 ‘ contrary, still remember the quarrel between the
 ‘ dictator Fabius, and Minucius his general of horse.
 ‘ In consequence you might have known your accu-
 ‘ sation would not have met with this reception, and
 ‘ that Paullus would not have been put to the trou-
 ‘ ble of making a defence. But let us procede to the
 ‘ other assembly: here I see I must not call you Ro-
 ‘ mans, but soldiers, and even that title should make
 ‘ you blush and be ashamed of injuring your gene-
 ‘ ral.’

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‘ IN truth I myself am differently affected, when
 ‘ I seem to speak to an army, than I was just now
 ‘ when I directed my discourse to modest citizens.
 ‘ Come, fellow soldiers, what is it you say? Is there
 ‘ any person at Rome, except Perseus, who dislikes
 ‘ triumphing over the Macedonians; and do you not
 ‘ pull him to pieces with those very hands, by whose
 ‘ help you vanquished the Macedonians? He who
 ‘ hinders you from entering our city in triumph,
 ‘ would have hindered you from gaining the victo-
 ‘ ry, if he had had it in his power. You deceive
 ‘ yourselves, soldiers, if you imagine, that the ho-
 ‘ nor of your general only is concerned in a triumph:
 ‘ no! the honor of the troops and the whole Roman
 ‘ people is interested in it. It does not concern Paul-
 ‘ lus alone. Besides, many generals who could not
 ‘ prevail with the senate to grant them a triumph,
 ‘ have triumphed on mount Alba. No man can rob
 ‘ Paullus of the honor of having terminated the Ma-
 ‘ cedonian war, more than they can Lutatius of the
 ‘ first Punic war, Scipio of the second, or other suc-
 ‘ ceding generals of the conquest, for which they tri-
 ‘ umphed. Neither will a triumph add to or detract
 ‘ from Paullus’s merit as a general. The reputation
 ‘ of the troops and the whole Roman people is more
 ‘ concerned: in the first place, to prevent it’s being
 ‘ reckoned

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reckoned the effect of envy and ingratitude to every illustrious citizen ; and your seeming, after the example of the Athenians, to malign the best of your men. Your ancestors were sufficiently to blame in the case of Camillus ; and yet all the injury they did him preceded his recovering Rome from the Gauls : and you yourselves are criminal enough with regard to Africanus, in having obliged the conqueror of Africa, to reside in an obscure private country seat at Liternum, and in that his sepulchre is to be seen there at this day. Ought we not to blush, if your injustice should equal Paullus in point of injury to these men, whom he equals in merit and glory. But let us utterly obliterate this infamy, which gains us discredit in foreign countries, and is extremely prejudicial to our own. For who would wish to be like Africanus or Paullus, in a city, which is ungrateful and an enemy to good men ? But suppose there was no infamy in it, and the question was only about glory, what triumph does not reflect honor upon all the Roman name in general ? Are the numberless triumphs for the Gauls, Spaniards and Carthaginians, reckoned the triumphs of the generals or Roman people ? As triumphs were celebrated not for Pyrrhus or Hannibal alone, but for the Epirotes and Carthaginians, so it was not M. Curius or Africanus, but the Roman people who triumphed. In this case the greatest glory rebounds on the soldiers, who, crowned with laurel, and adorned with military rewards, march through the city, crying *Io Triumphe*, and singing their own and their generals praises. If the troops at any time should not be brought from their province to share in the triumph, they murmur ; and yet at the same time they think, that though absent, it is they who triumph, because the victory was obtained by their hands. Fellow soldiers, if any one should ask you, for what purpose you were brought back to Italy, and were not disbanded as soon as the war was terminated, why you

came

‘ came in such crowds to Rome under your colors ;
 ‘ for what reason you stay here and do not disperse
 ‘ and go home ; what other answer would you give,
 ‘ than that you desire to be seen triumphing here ?
 ‘ And indeed, you who have gained the victory,
 ‘ ought to desire to be seen.’

‘ THERE were lately triumphs for Philip, this CHAP.
 ‘ Perseus’s father, and for Antiochus, and these dur- XXXIX.
 ‘ ing the reign of those princes ; shall there then be
 ‘ no triumph for Perseus, who is a prisoner, and
 ‘ brought hither with his children ? If from the
 ‘ crowd below L. Paullus should in a private capaci-
 ‘ ty ask Anicius and Octavius ascending to the capi-
 ‘ tol, adorned with gold and purple, “ do you think
 ‘ “ you have merited a triumph better than me ? ” I
 ‘ am confident, they would quit their chariots to him,
 ‘ and for very shame deliver him the triumphal en-
 ‘ signs. Do you, Romans, chuse to see Gentius ra-
 ‘ ther than Perseus, the associate rather than the prin-
 ‘ cipal in the war, led in triumph ? Shall the legions
 ‘ and sailors from Illyricum enter Rome crowned
 ‘ with laurel, and shall the army from Macedon,
 ‘ denied a triumph themselves, be only spectators of
 ‘ that of others ? What then shall be done with the
 ‘ rich booty got by their victory ? Where shall so
 ‘ many thousand arms, stript from the bodies of ene-
 ‘ mies, be hid ? Shall they be sent back to Macedo-
 ‘ nia ? How shall we dispose of the vast quantities
 ‘ of gold, marble, and ivory statues, fine paintings,
 ‘ tapestry, so much chased silver plate, so much
 ‘ gold, and the immense treasures taken from Per-
 ‘ seus ? Shall they, as if stoln, be carried into the
 ‘ treasury by night ? What shall become of the
 ‘ most conspicuous shew of all ? Where shall this
 ‘ most noble and puissant captive monarch be shewn
 ‘ to the victorious people ? The greatest part of us
 ‘ remember, what a vast concourse of people ran to
 ‘ see the captive Syphax, who was only an associate
 ‘ in the Punic war. Shall then Perseus, now a pri-
 ‘ soner, and his sons Philip and Alexander, perso-
 ‘ nages

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' nages of so great renown, be kept from the citi-
 ' zens sight. Every body desires to see L. Paullus,
 ' who has been twice consul, and subdued Greece,
 ' enter the city in a triumphal chariot. Did we not
 ' chuse him consul, to terminate a war, which had
 ' been protracted during four years to our great
 ' shame? Shall he, to whom we, with prophetic
 ' souls, destined victory and a triumph, when Ma-
 ' cedonia fell to him by lot, and he set out for it, be
 ' deny'd a triumph when victorious? Shall not on-
 ' ly men, but even the Gods, be rob'd of their ho-
 ' nor? For it is not only due to men, but to the
 ' immortals. Did not your ancestors both begin and
 ' end all important enterprizes with applications to
 ' the Gods? A consul, or prætor, when he sets
 ' out with his lictors, and in his warlike habiliments,
 ' for his province, or to a war, makes his vows in
 ' the capitol: when he has terminated the war, and
 ' returns victorious and triumphing to the capitol,
 ' he brings the presents of the Roman people, so
 ' well deserved, to the same Gods, whom he invok-
 ' ed at his setting out: for the victims which walk
 ' foremost in the procession, are no small part of the
 ' ceremony, as hereby it appears, that the general
 ' returns thanks to the Gods, for his success in con-
 ' ducting the affairs of the state. As for all those
 ' victims which he sets aside to be led in the proces-
 ' sion, let them be slain by the hands of whom you
 ' will: but will you, at the instigation of Servius
 ' Galba, disturb the entertainments of the senators,
 ' which are prepared, neither in a private or profane
 ' place, but in the capitol, and are there exhibited,
 ' not for the indulgence of men alone, but of Gods
 ' and men together? Shall the gates be shut against
 ' the triumph of Paullus: Shall Perfes, king of
 ' Macedon, his children, and a crowd of other pri-
 ' soners, shall the rich spoils of his kingdom, be left
 ' on the banks of the Tiber? Shall Paullus, as if
 ' returning from a journey in the country, walk as a
 ' private person from the gates to his house? But
 ' do

‘ do you, centurions and soldiers, listen to the se-
‘ nate’s decree in favor of Paullus, rather than to the
‘ fictions of Galba : hearken more to this my speech
‘ than to his. He hath only learned to prate, and
‘ that maliciously and with malignity. As to my-
‘ self, I have fought 23 single combats, and carried
‘ off the spoils of every enemy I engaged. I bear
‘ the scars of many honorable wounds about me, be-
‘ ing all before.’ Upon this it is said he opened his
breast, and recounted the battles in which he had re-
ceived each particular wound. In shewing the scars,
he chanced to discover, what should have been con-
cealed, a swelling in his groin, which raised a great
laugh amongst those who stood next him. Then he
continued, ‘ Even this which you laugh at is the ef-
‘ fect of my being whole days and nights successive-
‘ ly on horseback : neither am I more ashamed of it
‘ than of my scars, since it never obstructed the per-
‘ formance of my duty either at home or in the field.
‘ Well, I, an old soldier, have shewn the young
‘ my body, with the marks of many wounds. Now
‘ let Galba shew his delicate whole skin. Pray, tri-
‘ bunes, call back the tribes to vote anew. I will
‘ come down, soldiers, [and accompany you to the voting
‘ place, that I may personally distinguish those among you who
‘ exceed their companions in inbred forwardness and ingratitude
‘ to generals, and who in war would have their officers humor,
‘ not to say OBEY, them, rather than submit to lawful com-
‘ mand.’ This speech made such an impression on the other
citizens, but in particular upon the soldiery, that the remaining
tribes unanimously voted a triumph to Paullus, who by his sig-
nal victory had merited it, as much as ever general did. His
triumph far exceeded all preceding ones, either for the greatness
of the conquered king led in the procession, the excellence of
the statues and paintings, or the immense sums carried before
the victor.] The people erected scaffolds in the forum and
circus, and all the other parts of the city, where they could best
behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments ;
all the temples were open and full of garlands and perfumes ;
the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tip-
staffs, that drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled
up and down. This triumph lasted three days : on the first,
which was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen,
the statues, pictures and images of an extraordinary bigness,
which

CHAP. which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon 250 chariots.
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 in

in black, and wearing slippers, after the fashion of his country: he looked like one altogether astonished and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great company of his friends, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified, to all that beheld them, by their tears, and their continual looking upon Perſes, that it was his hard fortune they ſo much lamented; and that they were regardless of their own.——After theſe were carried 400 crowns all made of gold, and ſent from the cities, by their reſpective embaſſadors, to Æmilius, as a reward due to his valor *.

VALERIUS ANTIAS ſays, that the gold and ſilver taken, and brought over, amounted to 1200000 ſeſterces²: but from the number of the wag-gons employ'd to carry them, and the weight of the gold and ſilver, which he hath mentioned only in general terms, it muſt have been much more. He is alſo ſaid to have either ſpent in the late war, or in his flight to Samothrace, an equal ſum. This was ſo much the more ſurprizing, as this immense ſum had been amaffed in the ſpace of thirty years, after the war between Philip and the Romans, partly from the mines, and partly from other revenues. Thus Philip undertook a war againſt the Romans when his coffers were very empty, and Perſes, on the other hand, when his were very full. Laſt of all came Paullus himſelf, ſeated in a chariot, making a very maſtetic appearance, as well on account of the grace-fulneſs of his perſon, as of his venerable age. Behind his chariot, amongſt other illuſtrious men, were his two ſons, Q. Maximus and P. Scipio. Next marched the cavalry by troops, and the infantry by cohorts, every one in their proper ranks. Each foot ſoldier had a hundred denarii, a centurion double, and a horſeman thrice as much: it is thought he would have given the latter ſum to every foot ſoldier, and proportionably to the others, if either they had not oppoſed his triumph, or had ſhouted in token of their approbation of this very ſum, when they were told of it. But Perſes, in his being led in chains before the chariot of the victorious general through the city of his enemies, was not the only in-

* Kennet. *Antiq.* p. ii. b. 4. c. 16.

* 9587501. Arbuthnot.

CHAP. XL. stance, on this occasion, of the instability of human affairs; for even the conqueror Paullus, glittering with gold and purple, was an affecting instance of it. For of the two sons whom he had kept in his house to be the heirs of his name, religious rites, and family, (for the other two had been adopted into other families) the youngest, about twelve years old, had died five days before the triumph, and the eldest, at the age of fourteen, three days after it. These ought to have rode in the chariot with their father, dressed in their prætexta, foreboding like triumphs to themselves. A few days after, M. Antonius, tribune of the commons, having called an assembly, he gave an account of his services, according to the usual custom of other generals, and then made a remarkable speech, worthy of a true Roman.

CHAP. XLI. **‘**THOUGH my triumph, Romans, and the funerals of my children, which have alternately served as sights to you, cannot have left you ignorant, both how successfully I have conducted the affairs of the commonwealth, and how my family has been twice struck by heaven; yet pray permit me in a few words to make a comparison betwixt the happiness of the publick, and my private misfortune, with a becoming temper of mind. At my departure from Italy, I set sail from Brundisium at sun-rising, and at three in the afternoon I reached Corcyra with my whole fleet. Five days after I offered a sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi, in behalf of myself, the army and fleet. From Delphi in five days more I arrived at the camp, where having taken upon me the command of the army, and reformed several abuses which were great obstacles to victory, I advanced to the enemy. But seeing the enemies lines were impregnable, and that the king could not be forced to a battle, I made my way through the defile of Petra, notwithstanding his troops were posted to guard them, and having obliged him to fight, I defeated him, reduced Macedonia into subjection to the Roman people,

‘ people, and in fifteen days terminated a war which
 ‘ the preceding consuls had conducted in such a man-
 ‘ ner during four years, that the last always trans-
 ‘ mitted it to his successor in a worse state than he
 ‘ had found it. This was succeeded by a great train
 ‘ of other prosperous events; all the towns of Mace-
 ‘ donia submitted; the king’s treasures fell into my
 ‘ hands: the king himself with his children was tak-
 ‘ en prisoner in the temple of Samothrace, being as
 ‘ it were delivered up by the Gods themselves. My
 ‘ good fortune at this time seemed too great even to
 ‘ myself, and therefore I became suspicious of her
 ‘ inconstancy. I began to apprehend the dangers of
 ‘ the sea, in transporting the king’s immense trea-
 ‘ sures, and a victorious army to Italy. After all
 ‘ the fleet had had a prosperous voyage, and every
 ‘ thing was landed safe in Italy, and I had nothing
 ‘ more to ask of the Gods; I pray’d, that, since in
 ‘ the course of human affairs, the greatest prosperi-
 ‘ ties were usually followed by great adversities, that
 ‘ the calamities threatened by such change might fall
 ‘ on my house, rather than on the commonwealth.
 ‘ Therefore I hope the publick has nothing to ap-
 ‘ prehend, after such a signal calamity has befallen
 ‘ me; in that my triumph, as if to deride human
 ‘ prosperity, has been preceded by the funeral of one
 ‘ of my sons, and followed by that of another. Per-
 ‘ ses and I have been exhibited as two illustrious ex-
 ‘ amples of the fate of mortals. He, who, himself
 ‘ a captive, hath seen his children led in captivity,
 ‘ nevertheless has them safe: I, who have triumph-
 ‘ ed for him, went from the funeral of one of my
 ‘ sons in my chariot to ascend the capitol, and de-
 ‘ scended from thence almost to see the other expire
 ‘ in my sight. Thus of a numerous race of sons
 ‘ none remains to bear the name of L. Æmilius
 ‘ Paullus. For, as if I had had too many, I gave
 ‘ the Cornelian and Fabian families two of them, one
 ‘ to each, by adoption; and none remains in the family
 ‘ of Paullus besides himself. But your felicity, and

‘ the good fortune of the public, console me for this
 ‘ solitude to which my house is reduced.’

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 XLII.

THIS discourse, expressed with so much magnanimity, touched the passions of the hearers more than if he had endeavored to move their compassion by mournfully deploring his misfortunes. Cn. Octavius had a naval triumph for Perfes on the first of December. This triumph was without prisoners and spoils. He distributed to each private sailor seventy-five denarii, to the pilots double, and to the captains four times as much. Then the senate was assembled, and the fathers decreed, that Q. Cassius should carry king Perfes with his son Alexander to the prison of Alba; together with what attendants, money, plate, and furniture he had. Bitis, son of the Thracian king, was sent with the hostages into custody at Carseoli. The rest of the captives that had been led in triumph were ordered to be cast into prison. A few days after these events, ambassadors arrived from Cotys, king of Thrace, with money to ransom his son, and the other hostages. Being admitted to an audience of the senate, they principally alledged in excuse for their master, ‘ that he had not voluntarily
 ‘ assisted Perfes in the war, having been compelled
 ‘ to give him hostages. They also beg’d permission
 ‘ to ransom his son at any sum the senate should fix.’ The fathers answered, ‘ that the Roman people remembered the ancient friendship between the commonwealth and Cotys, his ancestors, and the Thracian nation. That his having given hostages was
 ‘ the accusation, and would not serve for a defence,
 ‘ since Perfes, even in time of peace, could not be
 ‘ formidable to the Thracians, much less when engaged in a war with the Romans. However,
 ‘ though Cotys had preferred the friendship of Perfes to that of the Roman people; yet they would
 ‘ more consider what became their own dignity than
 ‘ his demerit. That they would send back his son,
 ‘ and the hostages. That the favors of the Roman
 ‘ people were always free, because they chose rather

to leave the value in the hearts and to the gratitude of the receivers, than to demand and require any compensation for them.' T. Quinctius Flaminius, C. Licinius Nerva, and M. Caninius Rebilus, were nominated commissioners to carry back the hostages to Thrace; and the Thracian ambassadors had presents made them of 2000 asses of brass to each. Bitis, with the other hostages, was brought from Carfeoli, and sent to his father along with the commissioners. The ships of an unusual bulk taken from the Macedonians were halled up into the field of Mars.

WHILE the remembrance of the triumph for the Macedonian was still fresh, not only in their minds, but even almost in their eyes, L. Anicius triumphed for king Gentius and the Illyrians during the feast of Romulus. In it every thing seemed to bear a resemblance, rather than in substance equal the former triumph. Anicius the general was inferior to Æmilius both in nobility and quality, the former being only a prætor, and the latter a consul: nor could Gentius be compared to Perfes, the Illyrians to the Macedonians, or the spoils, money, and presents of the one, to the same of the other. But though the late triumph was more brilliant than this, yet it appeared, that this, attentively considered in itself, was no wise contemptible. For Anicius had in a few days totally subdued the Illyrians, a formidable nation both by land and sea, and which relied on its strong fortresses: he had taken the king and all his family prisoners; he carried in his triumph many colors with other spoils, and royal furniture; 27 pound weight of gold^a, and 19 of silver^b; 3000 denarii^c, and 120000 of Illyrian money. Before his chariot were led king Gentius, his wife, children, Caravantius his brother, and several Illyrian noblemen. Of the booty he gave to each of his foot soldiers 45 denarii, double to a centurion, and thrice as much to a horseman: the Latin allies had as much

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^a 1296 l.

^b 57 l.

^c 96 l. 17 s. 6 d.

CHAP. as citizens ; and the sailors as much as the soldiers.

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The soldiers followed this triumph with more cheerfulness than the former, and chaunted forth the praises of their general. Valerius Antias says, that the money arising from that booty amounted to 200000 sesterces, besides the gold and silver which was carried into the treasury. But as it does not appear from whence such a sum could arise, I have mentioned my author. King Gentius, with his wife, children and brother, was, by a decree of the senate, carried to prison at Spoletum, but the rest of the captives were imprisoned at Rome ; but as the Spoletans refused to take charge of the royal prisoners, they were sent to Igurium. The remainder of the Illyrian booty were 220 pinnaces taken from king Gentius. These Q. Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed amongst the Corcyraeans, Apolloniates and Dyrrhachians.

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THE consuls of the present year having only ravaged the lands of the Ligurians, without performing any thing worth notice, because the enemy never took the field, returned to Rome, to hold the election of magistrates. The first day of the comitium the fasces were given to M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Sulpicius Gallus. The next day L. Livius, L. Apuleius Saturninus, A. Licinius Nerva, P. Rutilius Calvus, P. Quintilius Varus, and M. Fonteius were elected praetors. To these praetors were decreed the two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia. This was leap year, and the intercalary day was the next following the feast of Terminus. C. Claudius the augur died this year, and the augurs chose T. Quinctius Flaminius to succede him. Q. Fabius Pictor, priest of Romulus, died also. The same year king Prusias came to Rome with his son Nicomedes. Having entered the city with a great retinue, he proceeded from the gate towards the forum and the tribunal of Q. Cassius the praetor : and the people crowding about him from all quarters, he declared, ‘ that he was come to worship the Gods that inhabited the city of Rome ; to pay his compli-
ments

ments to the Roman senate and people, and to congratulate them on their defeat of Perses and Gentius, and on enlarging their empire by the conquest of Macedonia and Illyricum.' When the prætor acquainted him, that he might have an audience of the senate that very day, if he pleased, he demanded two days to visit the temples of the Gods, the city, and his acquaintance and friends. L. Cornelius Scipio the quæstor, who had been sent to meet him at Capua, was ordered to attend him every where, and lodgings were hired for the commodious reception of him and his retinue. The third day he went to the senate, congratulated them upon the victory, recounted his services in that war, and demanded permission to perform his vows, by offering the ten greater sacrifices in the capitol at Rome, and one at Prænestæ, to the goddess Fortune: which vows had been made for the victory of the Roman people; and that they would renew the alliance with him, and grant him a certain territory conquered from king Antiochus, which the Gauls had seized, without it's being given to any body by the Romans. Lastly, he recommended his son Nicomedes to the senate. He was seconded by all the generals who had commanded in Macedonia. In consequence the rest of his demands were granted; but touching the territory, was answered, 'that the senate would send commissioners to examine into the affair: and if it should appear, that it belonged to the Roman people, and had not been granted to any body else, they should look on Prusias as most deserving that present. But if it had not belonged to Antiochus, and it thereby appeared that the Roman people had no right to dispose of it; or if the Gauls had got a previous grant of it, Prusias ought to excuse the Romans if they were unwilling to give him any thing to the prejudice of others. That a gift could not be acceptable even to the person on whom it was bestowed, which he knew might be taken from him whenever the donor pleased. That they

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readily accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and that Ptolemy king of Egypt was a proof of the great care the Roman people took of the children of kings in amity with them. With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents of 100000 sesterces were ordered to be made to him, and 50 pound weight of silver plate. It was also decreed, that Nicomedes, the king's son, should have a present of the same value made to him, as had been made to Masgaba son of king Massinissa: and that victims, and other necessaries for sacrifices, should be furnished Gentius by the public, in the same manner as to the Roman magistrates, whether he had a mind to sacrifice at Rome, or at Præneste: and that 20 frigates from the fleet at Brundisium should be assigned for his use, till he should arrive at the fleet, he had been presented with; L. Cornelius Scipio was ordered to attend him constantly, and entertain him and his retinue till they should embark. It is reported, that the king was charmed with the kind and bountiful usage he met with from the Romans: that he refused the presents that were made to himself, but ordered his son to accept the present of the Roman people. Thus much our writers relate concerning Prusias. Polybius says, this king was unworthy of that royal title: that he used to meet the ambassadors with his head shaved and a cap on, and call him himself the freed man of the Roman people, and therefore wore the badges of that order. That at Rome likewise, when he came to the senate house, he prostrated himself and kissed the threshold; and that he called the senators the Gods his preservers, with other expressions not so honorable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. After staying a month at Rome, he set out for his own kingdom.



A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE

SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of PADUA.

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564	188	M. Val. Messala C. Liv. Salinat or	63	113	576	176	C. Corn. Scipio Q. Petillius	75	298
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567	185	Ap. Claud. Pulcher M. Sempronius	66	173	579	173	A. Post. Albinus M. Popil. Lænas	78	323
568	184	P. Claud. Pulcher L. Porcius Licinius	67	187	580	172	C. Popil. Lænas P. Ælius Ligus	79	332
569	183	M. Claud. Marcellus Q. Fab. Labeo	68	202	581	171	P. Lic. Crassus C. Caf. Longinus	80	352
570	182	Cn. Bæb. Tamphilus L. Æm. Paullus	69	216	582	170	A. Host. Mancinus A. Atil. Serranus	81	402
571	181	P. Corn. Cethegus M. Bæb. Tamphilus	70	239	583	169	Q. Marc. Philippus Cn. Serv. Scipio	82	413
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573	179	Q. Fulv. Flaccus L. Manl. Acidinus	72	265	585	167	Q. Æl. Petus M. Jun. Pennus	84	509

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